

# IN THESE TIMES

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# THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



Patti Smith

## Punk 'n' roll is here to stay

Where do you go from Elvis Presley, short of obscenity—which is against the law?—John Crosby, TV critic, 1956

Punk rock is a social disease.

—Tim Patterson, *Guardian* (U.S.), 1977

Among rock'n'roll historians, 1977 may be remembered as the year Elvis Presley died, but his spirit was reborn in the form of punk rock.

Punk rock, or "new wave" is a musical movement that spread from New York to Great Britain and back again, with a brief stopover in Detroit. It is an attempt to resurrect the spirit of early rock'n'roll in the face of rock's reduction to mellow background music.

Like '50s rock'n'roll it is politically diverse, with left and apolitical leading, and with protofascist in the rear. It has its B&D freaks and its brutal misogynists; it also has its satirists of masculine pretensions.

But like '50s rock'n'roll, it is, in its best moments, an authentic, unfiltered expression of the fears, anxieties, sexual needs and anger that rumble down the corridors of high schools, colleges, factories and offices and don't find any expression in the abstract political alternatives available today.

### Teen angels.

In the early '50s, before rock'n'roll, popular music was dominated by sing-along novelty songs like Patti Page's "How Much Is That Doggie in the Window?" and melodramatic ballads like Tony Bennett's "Rags to Riches." It was controlled by six major recording companies and was largely intended for a white, adult audience. It was part of the great postwar American celebration, oblivious to the tensions and anxieties that lay beneath the surface.

Rock'n'roll pierced that surface, and it did so on behalf of the latest creation of Western capitalism, the adolescent.

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With the expansion of goods production no longer requiring a rapidly expanding labor force, capitalism found itself faced with a growing labor surplus, concentrated largely among minorities and youth. At the same time, there was a shortage of workers specially trained to run and develop postwar society.

It killed two birds with one stone by extending the period of childhood, first from 12 to 16, then from 16 to 18 and then from 18 to 21, as more than 40 percent of teenagers began going to college. That way, some youths got trained; and most were kept off the unemployment lines.

Rock'n'roll was an expression of this new group's struggle for identity and security in a world that was providing less opportunities for initiative and independence. It reflected their struggle for sexual expression, held in check by a postponed adulthood.

Much of the first rock'n'roll songs were justifications of the teenager's world—defenses of its integrity and spirit. The songs were cocky and self-confident ("Don't Step on My Blue Suede Shoes") and defiant about teenage love.

### Color bar down.

But rock'n'roll also reflected the movement toward racial integration in America. It was a synthesis of rhythm and blues and country and western music, which the majors had relegated to local independents.

Once the color bar went down, white and black rock'n'rollers could draw upon musical traditions that had attempted to express popular emotions and sexual needs. Some of Elvis Presley's first big hits, like "Hounddog" and "It's All Right, Mama," were adapted from rhythm and blues numbers, while Chuck Berry's first hit, "Maybelline," showed a country-western, as well as R&B, influence.

The heyday of rock'n'roll was 1954 to 1958. By 1958 the first burst of teenage independence had given way to shallow panegyrics for teen love and a revival of novelty songs. The majors had signed the leading artists. Chuck Berry was in jail, and Pat Boone, Andy Williams and Tab Hunter were in the saddle.

No one typified the decline better than Presley himself. As Griel Marcus has argued in *Mystery Train*, Presley's degeneration into a vapid balladeer and shadow of himself was not so much the result of RCA's commercial exploitation, but of his own artistic and social uncertainty. The part of Elvis that was a mama's boy had always been there, and in the absence of any social movement that could sustain his rebellious side, it came to the fore as he entered adulthood.

### The avantgarde '60s.

Rock'n'roll was reborn as "rock" in the '60s, but it had to pass back to the U.S. by way of Britain, where groups like the Beatles and Rolling Stones took the best of the '50s idiom and refashioned it into a more complex but equally exciting music.

Unlike '50s rock'n'roll or punk rock of the '70s, rock was part of a social and political movement that fed its spirit of experimentation and rebellion. It went back to the roots of rock'n'roll itself, and across the seas to India and Morocco; it adapted developments in jazz and folk music. Its best efforts belong to the avantgarde tradition in Western art.

Its decline coincided with the decline of the new left movement of which it had been a part. By the early '70s, rock's hard edge, typified by the Rolling Stones, had degenerated into empty display and provocation on the part of groups like Alice Cooper and Kiss and the insensate throbbing of the disco beat.

The wry simplicity of the Beatles had fed the development of a new "mellow" rock supposedly suited for the adult rock listener. A bevy of new rock FM stations arose to present this pabulum to an aging audience.

### Return to rock 'n' roll.

Punk rock developed in reaction to this decline of '60s rock. "I'd rather be dead than mellow," one punk rocker wrote in the San Francisco paper *New Wave*.

It is centered in Great Britain with groups like the Sex Pistols, the Clash, and Eater, and in New York with Patti Smith, the Ramones, Television, Mink DeVille, and Talking Heads. But there are also punk rock clubs and groups in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Chicago.

Punk is a conscious return to the '50s. Horns and wind instruments are largely eschewed in favor of the simple guitar-drum approach. The rhythms are hard-driving, staccato. Punk rock cannot serve as background music. The lyrics are aggressive and often offensive, filled with hatred and anger. Often there is an element of parody and bitter irony that distinguishes the songs from '50s remakes. (The Ramones' "I Met Her at the Burger King...")

While some of the groups are in the Alice Cooper tradition, the best are not. Patti Smith wears no make-up and wears t-shirts, the Ramones wear bluejeans and sneakers, and the Talking Heads look, in the words of a *Rolling Stone* interviewer, like a "group of Young Republicans."

Like '50s rock'n'rollers, they got their start from independent labels like Sire and Stiff, which have now been swallowed up. The Sex Pistols' "God Save the Queen, the fascist regime..." was banned from British airwaves, and the Sex Pistols have been shut out of British nightclubs.

### No left surrogate.

Politically, the common denominator is irony, anger, and derision—most often expressed at record companies, rich complacent rock stars, and other forms of the establishment.

British punk rock has a working class orientation and is often explicitly leftwing. Contrary to some reports, British punkrockers overwhelmingly oppose the fascist National Front.

But American punk rock is distinguished by the absence of any political direction. It arises out of the absence of a viable American left that could give some expression to growing anger and despair among the young. This absence of a political or social context gives Punk its seething indirection that encompasses intimations of liberation as well as of authoritarianism and misogyny.

Like '50s rock'n'roll, punk rock is the voice of adolescence, but it also demonstrates the change in adolescence in the last 20 years. Adolescence, as a period of legitimized joblessness, now extends to the mid-20s, as one can see from attending punk rock concerts. And the bitterness and dislocation have grown.

In Great Britain, the unemployment rate among 16 to 24-year-olds went from 2 percent in 1968 to 12 percent in 1976; in the U.S., it has gone from 7.6 to 14.4 percent.

The anger and insecurity of this situation find expression in the Advert's "Bored Teenagers" or the Clash's "London Is Burning" or in the Ramones' "Gimme Gimme Shock Treatment." It is not found in the latest efforts of Captain and Tennile, Wings, the Ohio Players or Peter Frampton.

For American leftists who see each song or movie as the surrogate for a political pamphlet, punk rock is bound to be a disappointment, even a sign of nihilism and decadence. But for those willing to listen (and of course for the rock'n'roll enthusiasts who still inhabit the cellars and attics of the left) there is much to learn from and enjoy in punk rock.

Recommended: Robert Christgau's defense of punk rock in *Village Voice*, Oct. 24. And for history, Charlie Gillett's *The Sound of the City*.

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# Police attack Kentucky miners

John Gaventa

**S**TERNS, KY.—Miners trying to protect their jobs against scabs were set upon by Kentucky State Highway patrolmen here last week as violence again erupted in the Eastern coalfields.

Between 80 and 90 miners, and some 20 women supporters, including many wives, were arrested Oct. 17 when 80 riot-equipped police waded into two crowds of pickets attempting to block the single road into the strike-bound Justus coal mine near Sterns in southeastern Kentucky.

Many of those arrested were badly beaten by police. Ten or 15 were hospitalized with broken arms, or elbows, concussions, and one miner suffered a blow so severe that both ear drums were ruptured. At least five state troopers were slightly injured.

For 15 months some 150 miners have been seeking a United Mine Workers contract with Sterns Coal Co., a subsidiary of Blue Diamond Coal Co. headquartered in Knoxville, Tenn.

The struggle between the company and workers at Sterns has been marked by frequent violence in the past, and the miners have picketed under bursts of machine-gun fire. A sandbag bunker built by the miners earlier to protect against the gunfire stood empty on a hillside overlooking the bloody scene last Monday afternoon. No shots were fired by either police or miners, however. Previously, one miner and seven company-hired guards had been wounded.

In an attempt to curb the violence, a McCreary County judge had gotten miners to agree in August to limit the number of pickets at the strike-site to six at any one time. In exchange the company agreed privately not to attempt to start production in the deep mine with non-union labor.

That uneasy truce lasted until Wednesday, Oct. 12, when the company sought to bring scabs into the mine with state policemen escorting them. The miners reacted Monday by blocking the road with a dozen or more cars and an overturned truck.

The picket line had been formed before daybreak. The miners had expected police to attempt to carry scabs onto mine property about 10:30 a.m. However, they did not show up. Two state police officers pulled up to the strikers at 11 a.m. and made a futile attempt to persuade the men to unclog the road. They left and returned 80 strong shortly after 2 p.m.

In the meantime, union organizers John Cox and Lee Potter had been shuttling between the miners and the state police who were grouping about a mile away just outside Sterns. Negotiations between the two sides apparently failed.

At about 2:15 Major Doug Storm, leading over 80 helmeted troopers, arrived in cars. He walked over to the hastily reassembling picket line and said, "Boys, y'all called the shots. We didn't want to do this, but you're all under arrest."

Another police officer said, "Violation of Judge Johnston's restraining orders. You're allowed six pickets. You're all in open violation of the orders. You're all under arrest."

Before any miner was given the choice of resisting or peacefully being arrested, troopers waded into the pickets swinging their clubs. The strikers, armed with makeshift clubs and sticks, swung back. For ten minutes the melee continued, but, in the end, the police prevailed.

At the head of the road into the mine, as troopers and miners fought, the wives and female relatives of pickets were attempting to prevent additional troopers from reaching the picket site. Some 20 of them were arrested after belting police cars with rocks, bottles and baseball bats studded with 20-penny nails. At least one woman suffered a broken arm when hit by police clubs. One 14-year-old girl was arrested, as was a woman in her eighth month of pregnancy, and a woman in her middle 60s who was pulled from the porch of her home by police and dragged into a cruiser.



## When the Stearns Coal Co. decided to bring in scabs and reopen the mine, the workers had no choice...

After the fight, Vanover Mahan, president of the local, his head bloody and his elbow crushed from a blow struck by police, told reporters: "I can't figure out why they want to do this when all we was trying to do was keep the scabs from takin' our jobs."

Did he think the strike was broken with more than two-thirds of the union local's members under arrest?

"No way," he said. "Naw. We'll be back. There's no way they're going to break our strike."

Tuesday afternoon, after spending the

night in jails in surrounding counties, the strikers, except those still in hospitals, were released under their own recognition.

*Frank Adams has been traveling in the South the last six months for the Institute of Southern Studies.*

## Discord in the UMW

As contract negotiations open between the United Mine Workers union and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association, union reformers are pessimistic about winning a strong contract or building an "alternative center of leadership"—a rank and file organization comparable to the Miners for Democracy—in the coal fields in the immediate future.

While a strike of 150,000 miners is quite possible when the contract expires Dec. 6, its likelihood has decreased in recent months.

Miller reportedly hopes to promote a "spirit of unity" in the union by integrating former Boyle supporters into his new administration. A prominent member of the bargaining committee is Wilbert Kilion, in charge of health and retirement issues, who ran for secretary-treasurer on the Tony Boyle slate in 1972.

The union appeared woefully unprepared to bargain at the formal opening session Oct. 6. *The Mountain Eagle* of Whitesburg, Ky., reports that the BCOA presented a tough-sounding opening statement, biographies of the negotiators, and various charts and statistics on declining coal production due to wildcat strikes. The UMW, on the other hand, offered a three-page statement of "goals" that was typed that morning.

In his opening presentation BCOA president Joseph Brennan threatened that unless wildcat strikes are ended, "we will... see the decline and possible extinction of the United Mine Workers of America." He blamed UMW leaders for their inability to stop "unauthorized work stoppages," and said that such "labor instability" would turn coal consumers away from UMW mines as dependable fuel sources.

The primary negotiating issue is expected to be the right to strike: the right of a local union at an individual mine to strike

by a majority vote of its members. Miller is bound by the UMW's 1976 convention to propose such a clause and says that the contract will not be ratified unless it includes one. The BCOA is firmly opposed, however, since this would basically legalize the wildcat strike.

According to reliable union sources, Miller favors a right to strike clause that would require a majority of the local's entire membership, rather than a majority of those voting. "His basic intent is to make that clause as tough on troublemakers as he can. This is one way to do it," explains one union source.

The contract is also expected to include a tougher absentee policy, enabling coal operators to more easily fire rank and file militants. Details of this policy are not yet clear. "Right now we've got a two-day deal in the contract. If you're off two days you've got to have a doctor's slip. I'm sure they're really gonna try to tighten that up," says Jim Hepe, an Ohio miner, in an interview with *Worker's Power*.

Since coal profits are up, the BCOA will probably agree to a decent wage increase. If this is combined with some restoration of health benefits that were cut out on July 1, the contract will stand a good chance of ratification.

While a "militant minority" will fight the contract, says a union source, no effective opposition within the union is prepared to analyze its provisions and organize a serious rejection effort. "The reform leaders have not been able to focus on issues or establish their records on the issues. The rank and file has the impression that the leadership has mainly been fighting among themselves. As long as it seems to be a battle of personalities, they will go with the incumbents."

One rank and file group, the Miners for Recall, claims to have gathered enough

signatures to initiate recall proceedings against Miller. Observers point out, however, that the recall procedure is extremely complex and that proponents have met little success outside of District 17, Miller's home district of southern West Virginia, where many miners are infuriated at his handling of the wildcat over health cuts.

Many reformers believe that recall is a "bogus issue," since Miller was just elected this summer and union members are now mainly concerned with the new contract.

Miners for a Fair Contract, another rank and file organization, has called on miners "to put this factionalism behind them and face the coal operators united." They charge that the coal companies consistently disregarded the 1974 contract, provoking "long and bitter strikes to weaken the coal miners and their union." They demand the right to strike, a six-hour day, full restoration of health benefits, a better absentee policy and other provisions.

A UMW strike would have to last three months before having a serious impact on the steel industry or utility companies, which have up to 100 days supply of coal. The proportion of mined coal under UMW contract has slipped from 70 percent in 1970 to less than 50 percent today, mainly because of high-yield, non-union strip mines in the West.

Meanwhile, Miller, in an effort to bolster his sagging image, has retained Maurer, Fleisher, Zon and Anderson to provide "public relations assistance" and media liaison for the talks. This firm prepared press releases for Mike Trbovich and other Executive Board members when they were attacking Miller last year, and handled Lloyd McBride's campaign against Edward Sadlowski for president of the United Steel Workers.

—Dan Marshall



## LAW ENFORCEMENT

## Pesticides found in coffee

**By David Weir**  
The Food and Drug Administration has launched a widespread investigation to determine how much of the coffee imported by this country is contaminated by cancer-causing pesticides.

The action comes after Sen. Gaylord Nelson (D-Wisc.) revealed in September that the FDA has already found traces of six pesticides in coffee imported from 12 countries. Four of the pesticides are banned in this country, except in emergencies, because they cause cancer in laboratory animals.

A top-level memorandum, dated Sept. 9, to FDA district directors at coffee ports around the country says the probe "has immediate priority and should take precedence over routinely scheduled operations."

The highest range of contamination discovered was from 0.05 parts-per-million of BHC (Benzene Hexachloride), a persistent toxin found in coffee from Brazil and the Ivory Coast, a tiny African nation. Brazil is the largest supplier of coffee to the U.S. while the Ivory Coast ranks fourth.

Hooker Chemical and Plastic Corporation stopped American sales of BHC in 1976 after its scientists found evidence that the compound is carcinogenic. However, the company has continued producing BHC for export to Brazil and other countries.

Environmental Protection Agency data indicate that 99 percent of the American population already have detectable levels of BHC in their tissues.

The FDA memorandum admits that the agency has "little information" about pesticide residues in the \$3 billion worth of coffee beans imported annually. During the three-and-a-half years ending in May 1977 the FDA examined only 19 samples of imported coffee beans from 12 countries.

"We are very limited in what we can do because we have limited resources for this work," says Frank Thompson Jr., director of the agency's Division of Compliance, which is responsible for monitoring all food imports for pesticide residues.

Of the 19 samples tested, 12 showed some level of pesticide contamination. Three of the samples showed only trace amounts, but nine registered measurable levels of one or more pesticides.

Thompson says that FDA records indicate that none of the contaminated coffee was withheld from the market, although technically any residues found made sales illegal, since the agency has established no tolerance (or allowable levels) of pesticides for coffee.

"But these residues are simply not high enough to worry about," says Charles Jellinek, program manager for the FDA's current field investigation.

#### Pesticide levels build up in body.

Other experts, however, are more cautious.

"The problem is that so little is known about the significance of pesticide residues in food products," says Sandra Strassman of the EPA's Ecological Monitoring Branch. "We don't know how much is absorbed by the body and how much passes through."

Meanwhile, as University of California biochemist Dr. Bruce Ames, a prominent cancer authority, points out, "These pesticides are accumulating in everyone's body fat and in mothers' milk at appreciable levels. Every little bit hurts."

BHC or its compound Lindane were detected in five of the FDA's coffee samples. Another pesticide found in two of the samples was Malathion, a less persistent but extremely toxic pesticide that was responsible for at least three deaths in Pakistan last year in an American-sponsored malaria eradication program.

The FDA's admission that it has found pesticide residues in imported coffee reverses statements made by agency officials to Pacific News Service earlier this year.



Ken Firestone

## The FDA examined 19 samples of imported coffee and found 12 with pesticide contamination.

Richard Klug, Assistant for Import Operations of the FDA's Division of Compliance, told PNS that no pesticide residues had been found in coffee "at least since July 1, 1974." Contacted recently, Klug explained, "We subsequently did a more extensive search for Sen. Nelson and discovered the 19 samples with residues."

#### Widespread international use.

The FDA has not yet revealed which countries, besides Brazil and the Ivory Coast, were responsible for shipping the contaminated coffee.

Department of Agriculture cables obtained by PNS, however, provide some clues about which pesticides are being

used where. American embassy officials in Peru and Guatemala reported in May of this year that BHC was being used on coffee grown in those two countries. In addition, the American embassy in Mexico reported that Malathion was being used on coffee there.

Furthermore, a special study team sent to Brazil by the Agency for International Development (AID) revealed as far back as 1972 that "large amounts of BHC [were] applied on coffee" in that country.

Other pesticides that are banned in the U.S., including Aldrin, Dieldrin, Heptachlor and Chlordane, are routinely used by Colombian coffee growers for that country's huge export crop, according to the Colombian Committee for Environ-

mental Information in Bogota.

A little noticed loophole in the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide and Rodenticide Act allows American companies to continue producing outlawed pesticides for export. Accordingly, dozens of pesticides, including all those found by the FDA in the imported coffee samples, are being produced in the U.S. for use in Third World countries where regulations are weak or rarely enforced. Among those countries are the ten biggest suppliers of coffee for the U.S. market.

*David Weir is former associate editor of Rolling Stone. This article was prepared with the help of a grant from the Fund for Investigative Journalism.*

## ENERGY

## No energy bill may be the answer

**By Nelly Scott**  
WASHINGTON, D.C.—Last week Sen. Henry Jackson, chairman of the Senate Energy committee, cancelled a trip to China. Jackson thinks he will be stuck in Washington for the next six weeks. He and 43 of his colleagues sat down on Oct. 18 to begin negotiating over differences in House and Senate energy bills, and no end is in sight.

Lack of leadership has combined with an absence of consensus to create a situation in which anything or nothing may happen.

Even non-controversial parts of the package have caused major wrangles. Conferees expected to reach agreement on conservation measures, including utility company inspections, and auto and appliance efficiency standards, in two days. It took two weeks.

Nor is much hope held out for speedy resolution of the electric rate bill, or natural gas pricing. On these bills, though conferees must find a way to compromise, the two bodies' positions are in direct contradiction. The Senate countered a mandatory program for reforming wholesale and retail electricity charges with a bill that rejects any mandatory actions. The Senate deregulated natural gas, while the

House extended regulation.

With the Congress and its Committees at such loggerheads, enough time has passed for many people to begin to see that the one thing the House and Senate bills have in common looks bad for their pocketbooks: formidable price increases. The suspicion that the public would be better off with no bill has surfaced and is spreading. The enthusiasm for making do with what is increasingly viewed as "a compromise with a compromise" has waned considerably, even on Capitol Hill.

The question of scrapping the whole bill was asked during a recent meeting held by consumer lobbyists with labor and public interest representatives. The general assessment was that few worthwhile provisions would survive the Congress intact.

The lobby group met to consider how to convince Carter that he can deal with the most serious energy problems under existing law.

Carter's vow to veto a "compromise" that pegs gas prices at "unfair" levels seemed like a good place to start. A lawyer who attended the meeting said, "We've got to show that there's an alternative to passing any gas bill. Unlike Bobby Byrd [the Senate Majority Leader], we think that no bill is better than some bill."

At the meeting four areas were identified where executive action could accomplish some of the President's goals in natural gas.

The group claimed that the new Federal Energy Regulatory Commission could reopen the much-protested case that set new gas rates up to \$1.42 per thousand cubic feet in 1976.

They also suggested that the Commission already has the authority to regulate intrastate gas, which is critical to the release of new gas supplies to the large interstate market.

Thirdly, if the Commission compelled gas producers to perform on existing contracts (rather than allowing them to abandon deliveries), customers could avoid buying scarce new supplies at higher prices.

Finally, the group pointed to the success of Rep. Andrew Maguire in getting the FERC to reexamine a decision that allows offshore producers like Texaco Oil Co. to divert gas to their own refinery use with impunity. The Federal Power Commission has estimated that gas that would be freed by prohibiting this practice could be substantial.

*Nelly Scott covers energy developments for IN THESE TIMES.*



## LAW ENFORCEMENT

## Los Angeles police under attack

**By Ron Ridenour**  
LOS ANGELES—Not since the height of the labor-left movements of the 1930s has the Los Angeles Police Department been as much on the defensive as it is today.

In 1975 L.A. police shot 75 civilians, killing 30. In 1976 68 citizens were shot, 30 died. So far this year, 30 civilians have been killed and twice that many have been wounded. A recent survey of major cities indicates that between 30 and 35 percent of the people shot by police are killed. In L.A. the ratio has been climbing from 40 percent in 1975 to 50 percent this year. One-third of the victims have been unarmed. None of the dead these last three years would have been put to death by courts for their alleged crimes.

The majority of victims are black and Latin; only 10 percent are white—in a city 17 percent black with a police force 83 percent white.

#### A bad August.

August was a bad month for the LAPD's slick image, finely honed by Hollywood movies and TV serials. Police killed three unarmed whites, and for the first time in decades whites joined with blacks in attacking the police department.

On Aug. 4, Ron Burkholder, 35, was shot six times by Sgt. Kurt G. Barz, who claims he spotted the slightly built man naked climbing a pole. Police chief Ed Davis defended the killing, saying Burkholder was a "drug taker" who "demonstrated tremendous capacity to use offensive aikido-judo-type techniques."

Barz claimed Burkholder attacked him, twice disarming him of his billy club, which he then threw away, and lunged at him with "martial arts" skills. The officer, 30 pounds heavier and three inches taller, backing up with drawn gun, said he shot in "self-defense."

There is no evidence, however, that Burkholder knew how to use martial arts. The coroner's toxicological study also showed no drugs in Burkholder's body.

The Friends of Ron Burkholder, mostly white with some '60s civil rights and anti-war activists (Burkholder had been a proponent of humanitarian social change), demonstrated weekly in front of the killer's police station, demanding that he be dismissed from the force (he remains on duty), that he be indicted for murder, and that the city pay child-support to Burkholder's baby born 18 days after his death.

#### Coalition Against Police Abuse.

They also joined the Coalition Against Police Abuse (CAPA), an 18-month old coalition of some 20 community and city-wide groups, and helped form other defense committees following the August killings of San Fernando Valley resident Bradley Robbins, 20, unarmed and shot six times, and George Ward, 28, also unarmed.

CAPA had already been working against police killings. Through community organizing, police complaint bureaus, anti-brutality actions at local police stations, legal suits for families of slain or falsely accused persons, and the systematic documentation of abuses, CAPA had pressured the city council into asking Chief Davis for data on civilian shootings, investigation procedures and findings, police discipline, and policies on firing weapons.

Davis' report, the first of its kind in L.A., was slow in coming and vague when it did arrive. CAPA charged that the report was "incomplete" and a "white-wash."

Bolstered by the new white citizen outrage, and some sympathetic media coverage, CAPA escalated its campaign this fall. The police were ordered by a city council sub-committee to respond to CAPA's critique of Davis' report.

A new report, issued by the Police Commission, a body of five civilians appointed by the mayor, contained some changes: the district attorney would auto-

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**Federal Laboratories, Inc.**

matically be informed of police shootings and would investigate; and some information gathered by a police investigation team would be made public, although the key CAPA demand for full disclosure of all shooting details, including witnesses' identities, was denied. Data on penalties

exacted by the chief over officers who shoot "out of policy" was also withheld.

District attorney John Van de Camp, announced he would investigate the death of Ron Burkholder. The coroner said he would ask the Board of Supervisors for financing for an "independent" staff to

investigate police killings, and that some inquests would be held. (The coroner had previously relied entirely on police for information about police shootings and had held only four inquests in five years, all at the behest of the police.)

*Continued on page 6.*

## Police chiefs meet in Los Angeles

**By Jeff Gottlieb**  
LOS ANGELES—Some 7,000 police administrators descended on this city last month. Under the leadership of Los Angeles police chief Ed Davis, the 7,000—almost entirely male—gathered at the L.A. Convention Center for the 84th annual conference of the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP).

IACP disseminates information about advances in police technology, acts as a fraternal order for police chiefs, and "fosters police cooperation and exchange of information and experience among police administrators throughout the world."

While most of the 22 foreign nations represented at the gathering were Western European, there were scattered participants from other areas, notably Mexico, Saudi Arabia, Canada, Iran, South Africa (that continent's only representative) and the Philippines (the only Asian representative).

In past years national politicians rushed to address IACP conventions and firm up their law and order credentials. That was less in evidence this year; the only big name politico to make an appearance was California's Gov. Jerry Brown who made a few welcoming remarks during the first working session.

The gathering's climax was the passage of 36 resolutions on the final day, most by acclamation. One called for renewed emphasis on police intelligence; another praised Anita Bryant for her "efforts to maintain high moral standards." (Bryant provided entertainment at last year's conference in Miami.)

New IACP officers were elected. The politicking was spirited, along the lines of

a Rotary or Lions convention. Campaign tactics ranged from the usual handing out of leaflets and a strolling banjo duo to passing out free glasses of orange juice.

Besides exhibitors and wives, the only women at the conference seemed to be a small campaign team of officers from Santa Monica dressed in tight white pants and red shirts with their chief's name inscribed across their chests. Their appeal was unsuccessful; their candidate lost his bid for sixth vice-president.

Some of the big names in law enforcement spoke, including representatives of the U.S. Marshalls Service, Interpol, and retiring FBI director Clarence Kelley.

Kelley credited the turmoil of the 1960s with forcing police forces around the country to modernize. "The explosions of violence that occurred back then also detonated progressive change within law enforcement," he said. Another by-product of the '60s, according to Kelley, was that police "began pooling resources of technology and expertise."

The chiefs also attended a wide variety of seminars and workshops, listening to outside "experts" and other chiefs describe ways to deal with problems of a modern day police force—how to meet affirmative action goals, police strikes, illegal aliens, white collar crime, and television violence (Steve Forrest, star of the TV program "SWAT" was one of the speakers).

Vying for the chiefs' attention, along with tours of Universal Studios and other tourist hotspots was a three-day exhibition of the latest in police hardware and gadgetry.

According to the IACP program, "No

other trade show draws together the technological expertise that is available at the IACP conference." You could name any type of police equipment and at least one of the 300 exhibitors undoubtedly had it—helicopters, laser guns, computers, bugging devices, bullet-proof vests, guns and rifles, and even a solution to prevent glass from steaming up.

One salesman, expressing the feelings of his fellows, observed, "This is it for us. We make most of our contacts for the rest of the year here."

While all was relatively peaceful inside—the exception being an incident where one journalist was thrown out because of his ties to the Church of Scientology—the chiefs were reminded that the days of protests are not over when they journeyed a few miles southwest to the Sports Arena for a barbecue. The chiefs were serenaded by about 800 chanting demonstrators who burned an effigy of Chief Davis.

Michael Zinzun, a spokesman for the Coalition Against Police Abuse (CAPA), which organized the demonstration, declared, "We're insulted that Ed Davis is playing host to police officials from countries with long histories of violating human rights."

Perhaps to show his contemporaries how he handles such matters, Davis, who has recently been put on the defensive by CAPA's campaign against LAPD shootings, had the riot squad ready and in full view, complete with helmets and tear gas, along with a large contingent of other uniformed and plainclothes officers.

*Jeff Gottlieb is a Los Angeles freelance writer.*



## LABOR



## Fitzsimmons may resign

The Teamster leader's downfall is apparently the result of federal investigation, political ineptness and rank and file pressure.

By Dan Marshall

**F**rank Fitzsimmons, general president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, may resign soon, **IN THESE TIMES** has learned. His position will likely be filled by Joseph Trerotola, union vice president who serves as chairman of the Eastern Conference, until a special union convention can be called to choose his successor.

Like other Teamster presidents before him, Fitzsimmons has been a highly controversial and much-investigated figure since taking the reins of union power in 1967, when then-president Jimmy Hoffa went to jail for jury tampering. His downfall is apparently the result of federal investigations, political ineptness and pressure from the rank and file.

"Fitz is at best a hack, a course bumbler who was picked by Hoffa as successor precisely because he seemed to lack any capacity to run his own show," one Teamster expert wrote in 1975. "He had been a third and fourth-level union operative in Detroit until a few years before his selection, in 1966, to be general vice president of the union. He could hardly manage a public speech and his personal ineptitude swiftly became legendary."

Unlike Hoffa, who single-handedly transformed the feudal baronies of the Teamsters into a powerful, centralized machine, Fitzsimmons parceled out union power to regional leaders like William Presser, president of Joint Council 41, who has been indicted for embezzlement, false entry, taking illegal payments from an employer and other crimes.

The union presidency gave Fitzsimmons near-dictatorial power and enormous financial rewards, including a total salary of \$133,339 in 1974, use of a fleet of Cadillacs, an unlimited expense account, and access to the union's private air force of five jets.

Fitzsimmons was also unusually cozy with the Republican party, especially with Richard Nixon, his regular golfing partner. When AFL-CIO unions and the United Auto Workers walked out of Nixon's Pay Board in 1972, Fitzsimmons stayed on. To no one's surprise, he strongly supported Nixon in that year's presidential election and his union contributed money to the Republican campaign.

He has recently been under investigation by several government agencies. Last May, in the wake of the government's investigation of the Central States Pension Fund, Fitzsimmons and three others were forced to resign as fund trustees. The Justice department is currently looking into whether he collected a \$1 million slush fund as a payoff to the Nixon administration for preventing Hoffa from regaining control of the union after being released from prison.

Another government task force is investigating whether Fitzsimmons and other top union officials violated federal law in promoting an insurance scheme that apparently backfired and cost the union millions.

Fitzsimmons' blunders in public relations and internal union politics have become the bad joke of the labor movement. He has never hidden his close friendships with reputed mafia figures like Anthony "Tony Pro" Provenzano, a prime suspect in the disappearance of Hoffa. At the union's 1976 convention, where several delegates were beaten up for opposing his election, Fitzsimmons told union reformers to "go to hell."

He has also come under increasing pressure from union dissidents, who have grown in numbers and political influence in the last few years. Both the Professional Drivers Council and the Teamsters for a Democratic Union have called on Fitzsimmons to resign. The union's Executive Board recently agreed to hear a variety of charges brought against him by rank and filers, an indication of his declining legitimacy within the union.

Several TDU leaders, at their 1977 convention, predicted that Fitzsimmons would resign because he has become too much of a liability for the union's hierarchy. While there is apparently no chance for a reformer to win the presidency, Fitzsimmons' ouster is expected to lend credibility to their cause and open up space for their fight to democratize the union. ■

## Rigged contracts on the rise

"Sweetheart contracts" are rapidly becoming a way of life among Teamsters' union members, jeopardizing their wages, seniority rights and other contract provisions. Many of the country's largest companies have "gone along" with what appears to be a "sweetheart contract" racket involving the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, the *Wall Street Journal* revealed on Oct. 20.

Sweetheart pacts, where Teamsters receive less money and fewer benefits than provided by the ostensibly tough National Master Freight Agreement, are routinely arranged by Eugene R. Boffa Sr., a "convicted bank swindler from New Jersey who often deals with powerful racketeers in the Teamsters union," the *Journal* reports.

In the past, sweetheart contracts have been mainly restricted to small, locally run companies. A nationwide system, involving companies like J.C. Penney, International Paper, and Continental Group Inc., would be "something new," the *Journal* says.

Boffa and a partner run two labor-leasing companies, Universal Coordinators Inc. and Country Wide Personnel Inc., whose activities are currently under investigation by the Justice department.

The labor leasing system runs something like this: A company hires Boffa, for an 8-10 percent fee, who inserts himself as a buffer between the company and the Teamsters local involved. The company no longer has to bother with union business agents, grievances or picket lines, since drivers are now legally employed by the leasing company. Boffa sends out the paychecks with money the company gives him. Drivers often don't realize what is happening, since they usually report to the same depots and take orders from the same supervisors.

There is a big difference, however. The paychecks are often smaller and drivers may have left behind their previous contract rights. Unless the union has negotiated a "transfer provision" in the new contract, drivers lose their accumulated seniority. This change in employers and

equalization of seniority allows the initial company to direct the leasing company to fire certain "troublesome" workers without legal liability.

In 1972, for example, Country Wide signed a contract with Iowa Beef Processors. Drivers earned an average of nine cents per mile, while the comparable Master Freight was in Iowa Beef's area was 14.425 cents on all runs—almost 70 percent more than the Country Wide wage. Drivers also received one less holiday and lower health-and-welfare-fund contributions. There is no indication, the *Journal* found, of any pension fund contributions in the new contract.

Strike rights are also severely limited by the leasing arrangement. If drivers picket the company over a grievance, for instance, they can be charged with a secondary boycott. They can only protest to the leasing company, whose offices may be hundreds of miles away.

"We're concerned that the rank and file in these cases are getting screwed out of all of their contractual benefits: seniority, vacations, health and welfare, pensions and decent wages," comments Bob Windram of the Professional Drivers Council (PROD).

Labor leasing basically means "that employers can get out of a valid contract by hiring a leasing company," explains a spokesman for the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU).

The leasing system could not work effectively without the cooperation of Teamster officials, union reformers point out. Boffa acknowledges that he has "cordial business relationships" with Anthony (Tony Pro) Provenzano, a controversial figure who has held various high posts in the Teamsters and is now under indictment for the murder of a dissident Teamster leader, and with Russell Buffalino, another questionable figure with extensive connections in the union. (Universal Coordinators Inc. also took out an ad in last year's program for the Frank Fitzsimmons Invitational golf tournament at California's La Costa country club.)

—Dan Marshall

## L.A. police under attack

Continued from page 5.

The Board of Supervisors, the County Commission on Human Relations, and the U.S. Civil Rights Commission are also expected to conduct hearings and investigations into LAPD practices in the near future.

### Changing police guidelines.

Perhaps the most far-reaching, and certainly the most controversial reform exacted to date involves strengthening the formerly vague police shooting policy. While Davis was out of the country the traditionally tepid Police Commission seized the time to harden the guidelines.

Officers are now bound, at least on paper, by the principle that "A reverence for the value of human life shall guide officers in considering the use of deadly force." For the first time, officers are not permitted to shoot someone merely committing a crime against property, nor to shoot at fleeing felons unless they have committed a violent crime "and whose escape presents a substantial risk of death or serious bodily injury to others." Furthermore, an officer cannot draw his weapon unless those criteria obtain or unless he must "protect himself or others from an immediate threat of death or serious bodily injury." Before, officers could use their own judgment when to draw and shoot as long as the judgment was "reasonable."

The new rules may have negligible im-

pact, however. The department is furiously resisting any change, and the D.A. is still inclined not to prosecute police. Furthermore, no penalties are stated in the policy and the Commission allows the chief to do all disciplining. Chief Davis has begun to rescind the new rules.

Meanwhile, police have killed two more and wounded two others since the "new orders."

CAPA wants all police who beat or kill community people to be suspended without pay and to be indicted and jailed. It wants the special tactics squads disbanded, a special prosecutor and community investigators established to oversee police practices, and an end to police harassment and deportations of undocumented workers.

Chief Davis has responded—characteristically—with both barrels. The LAPD forced Coroner Noguchi to allow its own men to conduct a toxicological analysis of Burkholder. After tests in three police-picked laboratories and supervised by police, it was reported that 1/1000 milligram of a derivative of PCP, or "angel dust," (PHP) was "discovered." And the coroner planned inquest into Burkholder's death has again been postponed. Davis also daily announces that his men are being undermined by the recurring criticism and that this will soon "create a jungle of crime."

Ron Ridenour is a Los Angeles freelance writer.



## THE LAW

# No agreement on revising criminal code

By Barry M. Hager  
*Congressional Quarterly*

**W**ASHINGTON—Despite continuing opposition, efforts at codification and revision of federal criminal law are nearing approval by the Senate Judiciary committee.

Committee approval of S-1437, the successor bill to the extremely controversial S-1 of the 94th Congress, is expected before the end of this session. The Judiciary committee is now engaged in lengthy markup sessions dealing with amendments being offered by at least six members of the committee.

Codification amounts to collecting and arranging a set of laws in an orderly way so that the relationships among the laws can be made consistent and can be more readily grasped. If passed, the legislation would be the first full codification of the nation's criminal laws that have been enacted piecemeal over two centuries of legislative activity.

Because criminal law in the U.S. is largely a state rather than federal responsibility, the vast majority of American law enforcement would not be directly altered by enactment of a new federal code. Historically, however, federal statutes have served as a model for subsequent state legislation.

Even the opponents of the legislation agree that such a codification is in principle a good idea.

Opposition to the measure stems primarily from the belief, strongly held by civil liberties groups in particular, that the bill both creates new law and ratifies old law inimical to rights guaranteed by the Bill of Rights.

## Support of McClellan and Kennedy.

The principal reason the bill is moving in the Senate is the strong support given by its two principal sponsors, John L. McClellan (D-Ark.) and Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.). Added to that powerful combination is the active endorsement of Attorney General Griffin B. Bell's Justice department.

Kennedy and McClellan, generally thought of as political opposites, have united in support of this version of criminal code revision and are working to get

The principal reason S-1437 is moving at all is the alliance of Edward Kennedy and John McClellan, with Kennedy (right) the more active in the campaign to pass the controversial bill.

it through the Senate intact.

McClellan's ill health has limited his public role in the progress of the legislation in recent months, but his backing remains crucial to its fate. "This is a carefully worked-out compromise that could be jeopardized at any stage," McClellan aide Paul Summitt says.

For that reason, both senators have agreed to work toward protecting the compromise bill from excessive amendment by either conservatives or liberals.

While conservative senators are not entirely satisfied with S-1437, virtually all the pressure for change, as well as outright opposition to the bill, is coming from liberal quarters. Major amendments to the bill are being proposed by Sens. James Abourezk (D-SD), Birch Bayh (D-Ind.) and Howard Metzenbaum (D-Ohio). Outside groups leading opposition to the current bill include the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation (NCARL), a Los Angeles-based group best known for its opposition to the now-defunct House Un-American Activities committee.

Interviews with representatives of those groups and with senators on the Judiciary committee indicate that Kennedy and McClellan can block any major revision of the bill in committee.

Supporters see the sentencing provisions as the most far-reaching improvement in



Wide World

the criminal code.

These provisions establish nine specific classes of crimes, ranging from "A" felony, punishable by a maximum of life imprisonment, down to an "infraction," punishable by not more than five days in jail. Each specific crime described elsewhere in the proposed code is "graded" as one of the nine classes.

Advocates of the bill believe this classifying process will insure that maximum punishments for crimes are consistent and accurately reflect society's disapproval of a particular criminal activity, rather than the whim of an individual judge or the idiosyncrasy of a particular piece of legislation.

The sentencing provisions in the bill also reflect the increasing support in criminal law circles for "determinate" sentences of predictable duration rather than "indeterminate" sentences typically allowed under current law. Current sentences seldom are certain in length because of parole and "good time" awards which can considerably reduce the time actually served by a convict below the original sentence.

## Overcrowding the prisons.

The ACLU claims that "S-1437 could increase federal prison population by one-third or more" by recommending higher initial sentences and less use of parole and good time.

The ACLU criticized a prison popula-

tion rise because "the U.S. now has the highest per capita imprisonment rate and longest sentences of any Western, industrialized country, with the exception of South Africa."

In addition, the organization points out that such an increase would exacerbate current overcrowding in prisons, giving rise to new constitutional challenges to imprisonment and eventually costing more for new prison construction.

Jay Miller, associate director of the ACLU Washington office, also criticizes S-1437 for an excessive reliance on imprisonment as a punishment for crime. He argued that "the problem with this criminal code is that it does nothing to address the question of crime prevention and reduction." To do that, he argues, more attention needs to be given to alternative responses to criminal behavior.

## Civil liberties issues.

While supporters of the bill tend to focus on the new sentencing provisions, the bulk of opposition to S-1437 centers on provisions that affect civil liberties. Critics claim that several provisions would make "new law" that would endanger political and personal rights:

- Obstructing Government. A section on "obstructing a government function by fraud" is drafted so as to include actions of individuals as well as those of conspirators, so that any stealthful action to thwart

*Continued on page 18.*

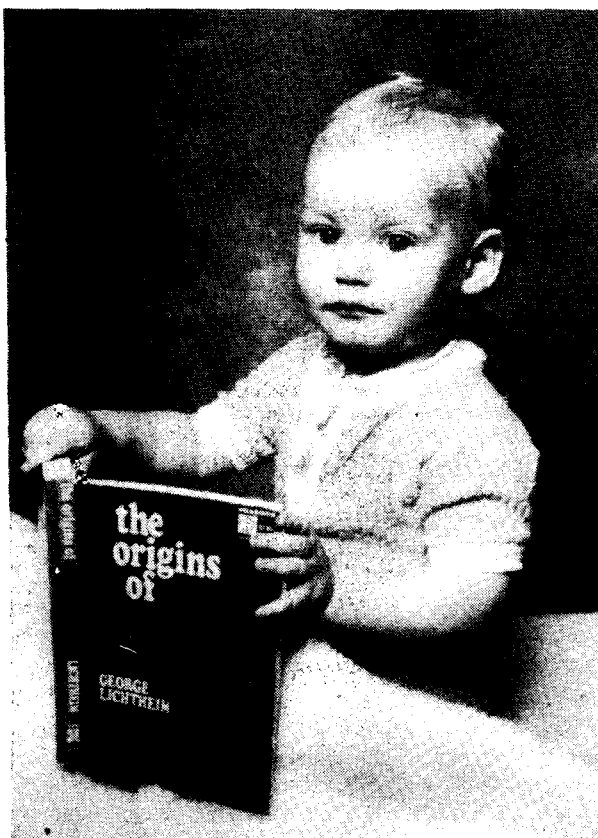
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# IN THE WORLD

## FRANCE

# Behind the split in the French left

By Diana Johnstone

The heart of the crisis of the French left is that both the Communists and the Socialists have been pretending the state could do more than they secretly know it could. Both have been claiming that the Common Program for government of the Union of the Left could solve the economic crisis and raise the standard of living of French working people.

They may have believed this—more or less—when they signed the Common Program in 1972, before the oil crisis darkened economic horizons. They do not believe it today. Yet neither party has dared to be frank. In France, a visibly rich country, with a centuries-old strong central government, it is widely assumed that the men in charge of the state should be able to make the economy work to benefit whomever they choose.

The contrasting approaches of the French Communist party (PCF) and the Socialist party (PSF) to the updating of the Common Program, before that effort collapsed last Sept. 22, while rationalized in terms of "scientific" economics, reflected the necessarily contrary fall-back positions of the two parties should their sojourn in government get them into serious trouble.

### Case against Socialists.

The PCF has launched its militants into a vast and intensive campaign to persuade French working people that Francois Mitterand's Socialists, and not the PCF, were to blame for the rupture. This mammoth propaganda effort, ostensibly aimed at putting left unity together again around a good Common Program, means that the PCF will be campaigning vigorously against the Socialists at least until the PFC national conference next January—only three months before the scheduled parliamentary elections next March.

In a report to the PCF central committee meeting on Oct 5 and 6, George Marchais laid out the arguments party militants will be taking to the people. They are very logical; whether they are convincing is another matter.

The most sharply reasoned part of the report deals with the alleged "turn to the right" taken by the Socialist party "since early this year." First are listed the visible signs of this change: statements by Socialists Michel Rocard and Jacques Attali suggesting nationalization without full expropriation; Mitterand's conduct of his debate with Prime Minister Raymond Barre; the PSF Congress at Nantes where (according to Marchais) Socialist leaders indicated their "aspiration to govern alone;" PSF membership in the anti-Communist union of Common Market social democratic parties; Mitterand's statement in July that he "did not believe in autonomous national defense;" and finally, as the clincher, the PSF's "refusal to reach an agreement bringing the Common Program up to date," its "decision to let the Common Program become obsolete."

After the clues, the deduction: as in nine other Western European countries, the big bourgeoisie wants to prolong its rule in France by getting the Socialist party to govern according to a policy of class collaboration. "The leaders of the Socialist party have lent an ear to these sirens songs and have taken this course," Marchais concluded.

### Hereditary suspicion.

In developing this line of argument, Marchais undoubtedly took the words right out of the mouths of a lot of Communist working people, whose hereditary suspicion of the "treacherous social democrats" has been revived by Mitterand's "artistic fuzziness" and his repeated assurances to the bourgeoisie, international



Neither the Communists nor the Socialists know what they would do if a left government hit stormy seas.

and domestic, that he can "handle the Communists." Some PCF militants seem positively relieved to take up the old familiar anti-Socialist refrain. Others, however, are openly appalled. Instead of forward to the government, does this mean back to the ghetto?

Strictly speaking, it is true that the Socialist party's economic thinking has moved to the right, since 1972, but this movement has been apparent since 1974. Again, it is quite true, as Marchais said, that PSF leadership is crammed with technocratic administrators. But this is not new either. Nor is the fact that the Socialist constituency is largely middle class, not working class.

The PCF has always considered itself "the party of the working class" and the Socialist party a middle class party. It entered the Union of the Left on that assumption, in line with its long-standing call for an inter-class "alliance of the people of France" against the "handful of monopolists" judged responsible for the capitalist exploitation. Has the PCF recently decided that the PSF represents not middle class aspirations to ally with the working class against the "monopolists," but rather the most enlightened interests of the "monopolists" themselves? This is what the Marchais report implies.

### Glaring defects.

Whatever the inner logic and partial truth of the analysis, it suffers from at least two glaring defects. The first is the absence of any international economic perspective. The Marchais report states that "the men in power say, in order to justify their austerity policy, that the crisis is international. This is true—not in the sense of being due exclusively to external factors, as they claim—but in the sense that all the big capitalist countries, especially in Europe, are going through the same sort of crisis." In other words, the crisis is international only as the sum of a number of international crises!

The second glaring fault of the current Communist polemic is its political crudeness. Logically "proving" the Socialists' "betrayal" before it happens seems the surest way to push them into it. The dogged indictment of the PSF follows the logic of sectarian self-righteousness, not of political persuasiveness.

The commonest explanation for this behavior is that the PCF is determined to build its strength in the industrial working class prior to the elections. Its insistence on nationalizing industries where the

Communist-led trade union confederation, the CGT, is strongest, is widely interpreted as a demand for a secure power base in the economy in return for the risks of government coalition with the PSF. No doubt. But an inescapable air of irrationality surrounding current PCF arguments suggests, at some level, a crucial failure of the party to deal with reality.

Edmond Maire, head of the country's second largest trade union confederation, the Confederation of Democratic French Workers (CFDT), was dead right when he said in a radio interview on Oct. 9 that "it is the inadequacy of the parties' proposals for getting through the crisis which is at the root of the current division of the left parties."

Maire and the CFDT have criticized the PCF for grossly underestimating the international aspect of the economic crisis, thus overestimating the capacity of France—or more specifically, the French state—to successfully carry out an economic growth policy regardless of the world context. The Socialists are better at analyzing the crisis, but unfortunately have made no clear proposals to deal with it, according to the CFDT.

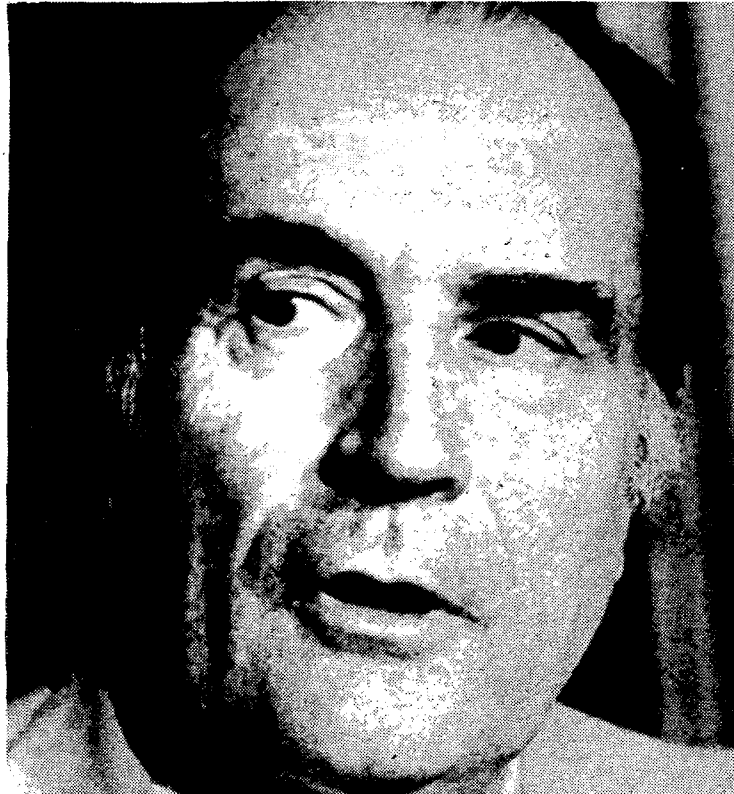
The CFDT critique is right as far as it goes. It should be taken much farther.

### No theory.

Since the Common Program was signed, various events, notably the 1973 military coup in Chile, have dampened the optimism of the reformist left. Chile suggested that in a hostile international environment the state's repressive apparatus is more effective than its power to transform a national economy.

As Bernard Moss pointed out, the 1972 Common Program, like French Communist economic policy in general, is based on the theory of state monopoly capitalism (ITT, Oct. 12). PCF economist Anicet Le Pors has just reaffirmed this theory in his new book, *Les bequilles du capitalisme* (The Crutches of Capitalism). The catch is that except for PCF theorists, hardly anyone on the left any longer considers that theory adequate. As CFDT spokesmen have pointed out, the PCF's continuing claim to possess "scientific truth" makes it incapable of admitting it can't see a solution to a problem. It is tempted to shout that it has a perfect solution, which it will be prevented by treachery from putting into practice.

Aside from other factors, the growing feeling that the Common Program would not work in a hostile world context no



Valery Giscard d'Estaing, Raymond Barre and Francois Mitterand. Do Mitterand and the Socialists have an "alternative strategy" to union with the Communists?

doubt goes a long way towards explaining the growing influence within the PSF of more liberal economists such as Jacques Attali. But they are not convincing either.

The crux of the matter is that there does not exist today a totally credible—or even largely credible—economic theory for dealing with the current crisis of capitalism. Every party—left or right—while professing fidelity to "scientific principles" and the "laws of economics," is in reality going to have to fall back on its ability to mobilize political power of one sort or another.

In other words, if and when theory breaks down, the PCF and the PSF must fall back on practice, necessarily different in the two cases because of their quite opposite available courses of action.

It is a commonplace of French politics that the Socialist party has an "alternative strategy" to the Union of the Left, whereas the Communist party does not. In case of a final split, the PSF could theoretically join the "center-left" coalition considered dear to the heart of President Valery Giscard d'Estaing. The PCF has no place to go but "back to the ghetto." If for the PSF, Union is a virtue, for the PCF it is a necessity. Each party uses this argument to prove its own superior devotion to unity.

The difference between the two parties has become more and more notorious with the proliferation of politics-fiction novels, cartoons and jokes predicting the inevitable moment when a besieged Prime Minister Mitterand would jilt the PCF and turn to Giscard. If such predictions have a way of not coming true, it is partly because the designated fall-guy is apt to take steps to avoid his fate.

Like anyone else, French Communists can foresee certain likely developments if a Union of the Left government were formed next year. The flight of capital and other less predictable "destabilization" techniques could produce both political and economic difficulties not dealt with in the Common Program. Socialists and Communists, having concentrated their own and the public's attention and expectations on the level of the state, in keeping with the political game, would discover their incapacity to solve their problems with the power available to them at that level. Each would have to look to some level other than the national state for support. But where could that be?

The Socialists, with little grassroots or-

Continued on page 18.



BRITAIN

Tories look right, hedge on unions

**T**he Conservative party conference, following immediately upon an uneasy and lack-lustre Labour gathering, brought reassurance—for Labour supporters. It showed the Tories too have their difficulties.

The Tories are impatient to get into power, and a special impatience is discernable in their leader, Margaret Thatcher. "I don't greatly care for being in opposition," she said irritably in her conference speech. Her situation is all the more galling because she enjoyed a smell of victory when the government nearly collapsed in March 1977. An election held then would have been a Tory landslide.

But in the ensuing months opinion polls have shown the Tory lead dropping from 24 percent to 5 percent. That's close enough to make the Tories realize that they will need all their political skill to win when the election does come; they can't afford to make any mistakes or to give any unfortunate impressions.

Showdown with unions.

One such impression is that they are hell-bent for a showdown with the trade unions—the sort of showdown they did indeed cause when last in office by the restrictive Industrial Relations Act of 1971. If this idea gets around, they stand to forfeit the votes of possible sympathizers who belong to unions and value the strength of those unions when it comes to seeking wage rises. As you look around a Tory conference hall and not which speakers get the loudest applause, you can't fail to see that majority feeling is hostile to unions and especially hostile to the closed shop. Many delegates wore "No Closed Shop" buttons.

This is awkward, because Tory leaders (even Thatcher) know that the closed shop is firmly established in many industries and is indeed fully accepted by employers; also that a general onslaught on the closed shop would cause all hell to break loose. Delegates had to listen to a speech by an actor who said the closed shop enforced by his union, Actors' Equity, is the only barrier against callous exploitation.

James Prior, platform spokesman on this issue, went as far as he could to satisfy the hawks. It is already Tory policy that no new closed shops should be allowed without a ballot; he extended this by saying that there must be a "massive majority" (without saying what "massive" would mean). The more thick-headed delegates didn't notice the implication that existing closed shops won't be challenged.

Dealing with the charge that a Tory government would be unable to work amicably with unions, Prior said dismissively: "It is a load of rubbish." He foresaw no problems except that "some extremists will try to kick up trouble." The Tories would work with "all the great interest groups" and do what was in the national interest. This vague formula shoved the issue neatly under the rug, at least for conference purposes.

Support for Ian Smith.

Another issue that the leaders were anxious to hush up was that of Rhodesia. Many Tories admire Ian Smith, are violently hostile to black nationalism, and want to come to the rescue of "our kith and kin." But middle-of-the-road voters want to see the long-running Rhodesian epic brought to a close in any feasible manner; David Owen is a popular figure and credited with the ability to do just that. The impression to be avoided is that Smith is being encouraged to hold out until rescued by a Tory government.

Things got off to a bad start on the eve of the conference, when Bishop Abel Muzorewa—invited by enlightened Tories to address a meeting—was received

At their recent conference, Margaret Thatcher showed a new caution. The Tory lead over Labour has shrunk.

with shouts of "Murderer!" (Those responsible seem to have thought that Muzorewa heads the Patriotic Front.) This luckily wasn't on television, but the short conference debate on Rhodesia was. A speaker (from the Tory student organization) pointed out that Smith presides over "an illegal regime in rebellion against the British Crown," and added that Africans naturally resent domination by "a tiny alien clique." Pro-Smith delegates yelled their dissent and made the speaker inaudible by rhythmic stamping. As the debate proceeded, enmity in the hall between the two wings of Toryism became so acute that fist-fights almost broke out.

The chairman, shocked, recalled delegates to their habitual good behavior. The incident made the headlines, but what's more significant is that the platform speaker—the consistently right-wing Lord Carrington—conceded a great deal to the Smith fans. Though vaguely phrased, his speech gave favour to the Smith plan of an "internal settlement," which has been rejected by Owen and Vance. He wound up, to safe applause, by denouncing the Labour conference's resolution of support for the Zimbabwe guerrillas as "disgraceful."

Thatcher's prudence.

When Margaret Thatcher made her closing speech, she sensed the mood of the conference, which was in tune with her own inclinations. She took a solidly right-wing line. Among other points, she promised that law and order will be an election issue; demanded higher pay for the police (as a "special case" immune from the overall 10 percent ceiling, which Tories approve); attacked left-wing teachers who bring "propaganda" into the classroom; denounced cuts in defense spending; and declared that she is "rock-firm" on the union of Britain and Northern Ireland. For good measure, she accused the Labour party of a "drive toward a Britain modelled on eastern Europe."

But on the crucial issue of relations with the unions, she was prudent. True, she had withering words for an "unelected minority" that might seek to "hold the nation to ransom;" and she repeated her plan, in the event of a clash, to take the issue to a referendum. However, she expressed the view that such a situation need never arise, and even declared (in a tone more suited to a queen than a political leader): "I look forward to a long and fruitful association with the unions." Lest anyone might fail to get the message, she also said: "A strong and responsible trade union movement is essential and its rights must be respected."

Obviously the problem is worrying her. And no wonder. What, after all, will be the situation if the Tories form a government next year?

Inflation, if perhaps reduced, will still be a major factor in the economic scene. Workers, through their unions, will be seeking to restore their living standards. Free collective bargaining will be in force.

Through massive cuts in spending (except on defense) the Tory government will be making inroads on the social wage—on welfare services, subsidized public housing, and subsidized food. This will naturally spur demands for direct wage increases.

That government will also, in accord-



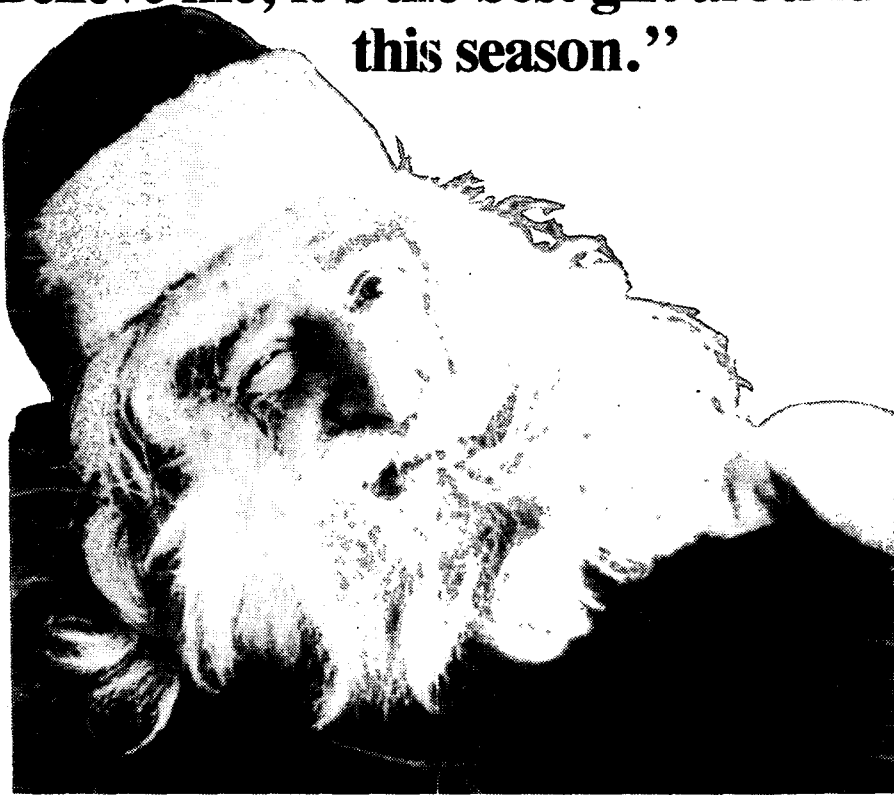
ance with its pledges, be slashing taxation on higher incomes. Current Tory policy calls, notably, for abolition of the gifts tax (a favored device to reduce the tax liability of a wealthy family) and for reducing tax on invested incomes to the level imposed on earned incomes. These inequal-

itarian measures will increase the resentment of wage-earners.

If there is not, in fact, a clash between the Tories and the unions, a great many people will be surprised.

Mervyn Jones writes for *The New Statesman*.

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## CANADA

# French language bill sparks sharp debate in Quebec

By Henry Milner

**M**ONTREAL—On Aug. 24 French became the only official language of Quebec. The Charter of the French language was made law, ending another round in a debate that began ten years ago. And though the war is by no means over, it is clear that a major battle has been fought and won.

Dr. Camille Laurin, a soft-spoken, thoughtful, eminently reasonable yet determined psychiatrist, wrote the new law. Backed up by a brain trust of former university professors and teachers' union officials, he painstakingly put together a complex piece of legislation composed of almost 200 articles designed to deal with every eventuality.

The law makes French the only official language in Quebec. Its key provisions declare that no one may be denied the right to work in French in Quebec and that corporations must reflect this fact in their language of operations, labor negotiations, purchasing and sales. Nor may anyone be denied the right to be served in French in any institution that deals with the public.

All public institutions must operate in French; English can also be used in those institutions that serve a specifically English population and in schools, hospitals and the courts.

Attendance in English-language public schools is open only to children presently residing in Quebec whose mother tongue is English. All those settling in Quebec after passage of the law must attend French schools, except in the case of temporary job-related transfers and families coming from Canadian provinces that have signed reciprocal agreements with Quebec guaranteeing French schooling for French-speaking Quebec residents moving there. (Under pressure from the federal government to resist, none of the other nine provinces has so far agreed to do so.)

Quebec prime minister, Rene Levesque, has repeatedly expressed a deep ambivalence toward the legislation, and in this he surely reflects the feelings of all progressive Quebecers: such legislation is necessary, but nevertheless unfortunate. A people cannot point very easily with pride to legislation designed to protect the place of its own majority language.

Yet despite this underlying ambivalence there is no doubt that the government is committed to carrying out the provisions of the new law and that this project has the support of the great majority of the French-speaking population. Recent polls have estimated that support as between 50 and 70 percent.

## New national consciousness.

The population of Quebec is over 80 percent French speaking. Of the remaining 20 percent, only 13 percent can be said to be English in mother tongue, the remaining are neither English nor French.

The British North America Act, which created Canada in 1867, enshrined the educational systems of Quebec's Protestant minority. Given the economic predominance of the minority, the establishment of an elite English Protestant educational system in Quebec resulted. Early immigrant children, among them Jews, Germans, Slavs and Greeks, by and large found their way into this system and were thus gradually assimilated into the English language community. At the same time, an English-speaking sector was developed within the Catholic system by the Irish and then Italian immigrants.

As long as the birthrate remained extremely high among French Canadians, nothing was done to encourage non-French Canadian children to enter the French language system. With the mod-

The new language law, passed by Prime Minister Levesque's government, redresses old grievances of the French majority. While English was essential to a good job in Quebec, French got you nowhere. With the English-speaking elite proving intransigent, the debate over the new law may cloak economic issues that could unite French and English-speaking workers.

ernization of Quebec society in the mid 20th century, the birth-rate plummeted. During the '60s national consciousness among the Quebecois was revitalized. The people faced the outside world increasingly confidently and realistically refusing to hide behind the old clerical traditions. They saw their national survival threatened if their language were allowed to go the way of French in other Canadian provinces, or in Louisiana and New England.

## English brings better jobs.

Moreover, the economic reality of Quebec manifested itself squarely at this time. The federal government's Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in the mid-'60s found that only 15 percent of economic production was in the hands of corporations controlled by the French-language majority, and that French Canadians in Quebec earned on the average 60 percent of what was earned by English Canadians. Knowledge of English was the *sin qua non* of economic improvement for members of the French majority in Quebec, but knowledge of French did little or nothing to augment income for the English-speaking minority.

Acting quite rationally under such conditions, immigrant populations and a small number of French-Quebecers insisted on sending their children to English-speaking schools. Such a situation could not continue indefinitely. In 1968, when the Catholic school commission of a Montreal suburb refused to provide English language instruction for its Italian minority, a series of demonstrations and counter demonstrations broke out. The battle over language had begun in earnest.

The provincial government of the time passed legislation guaranteeing English education to all those who wanted it. This legislation only led to further and far more widely supported marches and demonstrations.

An investigatory commission was set up to study the problem and after four years was able to reach only ambiguous conclusions. The Liberal party government responded in kind in 1974 with Bill 22. While the bill declared French the official language, its halfhearted measures



to bring this about won it no support from nationalist elements, while its education provision, which permitted only those children who were clearly of English speaking background or had passed an English proficiency test to enter English schools, served to antagonize the English and neo-Quebecois who saw treason from a government they felt to be their own. The Bill 22 debacle contributed to the November 1976 Liberal defeat at the hands of the Parti Quebecois. With the new bill, a firm stand had finally been taken.

## Opposition to bill.

The English-speaking establishment has charged that the law is unacceptable: Quebec must be bilingual and provide freedom of choice in education. They have made their views known in English newspapers and private radio and TV stations.

There is still some dissatisfaction with the severity of the legislation, especially among editorialists of the French language newspapers. The argument is made that the demographic patterns that existed at the time of the outbreak of the great language debate have altered since, so that French language culture is no longer really threatened. The government has cited other experts refuting these claims. Hence demographic arguments have continued during these months, especially in the editorial pages of the Montreal dailies *Le Devoir* and *La Presse*.

Such arguments, however, are not terribly relevant to the majority of the population. Most people have come to accept that if Quebec is to be French, the primary question is whether it will be a province or a nation, and that will be answered in the constitutional arena with the upcoming referendum on independence now tentatively scheduled for spring 1979.

## Over my dead body.

What remains at issue is the ultimate role of the English-speaking minority. Not all English-speaking people in Quebec are industrialists, bankers and lawyers, and not all sit on the boards of English language universities.

The new language bill was intended to

build a national culture that all groups could participate in. On many occasions Laurin has promised job security and free language retraining to all non-French speaking workers.

A government white paper on culture and the contribution and participation of minorities is expected shortly; perhaps it will have more success in winning over the non-French-speaking communities. So far, however, immediate reaction to the passing of the law has been decidedly negative. Leading English language school boards, supported by principals, English-language teachers' unions and parents' associations, have decided massively to violate the law and register every possible child into English schools. When the number of illegally registered children soon becomes known, a confrontation over their status will ensue. The government has already indicated that it will neither provide funds to the school boards for these students, nor issue any official record to the students for the schooling attained.

There are recurrent stories of hundreds of English-language families leaving Quebec every month.

The majority of Quebecers look upon the English Canadian hysterical reaction as absurd and sad; no doubt their reaction enhances the sentiment that only an independent Quebec can guarantee cultural and language survival and growth. Yet independence is by no means inevitable. If an effectively sovereign French Quebec were possible within Canadian confederation, the great majority would choose this option.

The attitude of the English-speaking corporate elite seems predominately to be one of "over my dead body." The bankers, after all, need simply transfer their capital. English opposition will not stop the project but it may distort it.

Ordinary non-French speaking citizens will benefit least from that distortion. Progressives, among them some members of the governing party, are saying that the time has come to place the language question behind and get on with the more fundamental economic questions that confront present day Quebec. Unfortunately, one hears such sentiments in French.



**R**

ussell B. Long is poised to influence American domestic policy in a way that few legislators have done in this generation.

The Senate Finance committee headed by the Louisiana

Democrat is presently working on President Carter's energy proposals. It is preparing to make substantial changes in the administration's welfare legislation. By the time it finishes with that, Carter will have released his program for tax revision—the committee's specialty. Then it will consider what the President wants to do about health insurance and the financially weak Social Security system.

The committee that is destined to do all this work is one that has changed remarkably little over the past decade of general congressional turmoil.

While committee chairmen in both the House and Senate have grown weaker, Long has grown stronger. While subcommittees have generally taken over more and more of the legislative workload, the subcommittees on Finance do little of importance.

And this is not merely by Long's decree. Earlier this year, when pressure from Democrats on the Senate floor forced Long to promise a bigger role for subcommittees, it was Long's own colleagues on Finance who insisted that things be kept the way they are. The current system, in which all important bills are considered only by the full committee, keeps all subjects under Long's personal control. But it also gives each member a role to play on every piece of major legislation.

**"Don't call me powerful."**

The subcommittee episode illustrated one fact of life on Finance—members feel the chairman's influence enhances their own, and they fight to preserve it.

"There's no doubt he runs that committee," said Sen. Spark M. Matsunaga (D-Hawaii), who joined the Senate and The Finance Committee this year after 14

years in the House. "Not even Wilbur Mills was like this. Mills had factions forming against him on Ways and Means. Russell Long is close to every member on a personal basis."

The fact that Russell Long is powerful is not news. The adjective has appeared next to his name almost automatically during his 12 years as Finance chairman, and frequently before that. He makes fun of it. One tax lobbyist recalls Long ambling up to a group of reporters at a cocktail party and saying, "Call me anything you want to boys, but don't call me powerful."

The other cliché about Russell Long is that he is smart. The newspaper articles that characterize him as the most powerful senator often say in addition that he is the smartest, perhaps the smartest of modern times.

The late Sen. Richard B. Russell (D-Ga., 1933-71) used to say that Russell Long was the second smartest senator he had ever known. The smartest, he said, was Russell's father, Sen. Huey P. Long (D-La., 1932-35).

This article explores the power of Russell Long, the workings of his committee and the effects of the combination on legislation the Senate takes up. None of the information comes directly from Long himself; he declined to be interviewed on the subject of the Finance committee.

#### Favors to bestow.

Conversations with members of the Finance committee and with key lobbyists leave a clear picture of Russell Long's tactics and style.

Most important, he has favors to bestow. Tax bills are the basis of the Finance committee's work. More than any other aspect of the legislative process, they attract lobbying and constituent pressure for special provisions.

The current tax system uses the Internal Revenue Code for a variety of social as well as economic goals, and any tax incentive that benefits somebody can be extended or rewritten to benefit somebody else. It is this complex network of tax incentives that makes the committee a focus for high-priced corporate lobbyists,

and a target for tax revision lobbyists who feel the tax code is riddled with the giveaways.

Long is a master at picking up Senate votes by promising colleagues help with incentives their constituents want. He also is in the position to threaten to take tax incentives away. This is back-scratching—the single most important tool of power on the Finance committee.

"He knows the Senate is full of guys that posture a lot but have something in their closet," said one veteran tax lobbyist. "Every one of them has some constituency, some interest that he has to deal with. Long knows their interests, he knows their weaknesses, and he exploits them."

This is especially important within the Finance committee, whose members receive the most direct constituent pressure, but Long is able to use it on the Senate floor and in conference to make sure favorable decisions taken within the committee are sustained, or unfavorable ones reversed.

During debate on the 1976 tax bill, for example, Long helped Howard W. Cannon (D-Nev.) win an exemption for gambling casino winnings from federal income tax withholding. Cannon voted with Long against most attempts to make significant changes in the Finance committee bill.

Spark Matsunaga of Hawaii arrived at the Finance committee this year to find a new subcommittee on Tourism and Sugar created just for him. Since subcommittees have little power on Finance, it involved no substantive concession on Long's part. But Long knows it is helpful with constituents and difficult to forget at a time when the chairman wants a favor.

#### Candor about giving money away.

Long's talent for doing favors and collecting on the debts has long been familiar in the Senate. What many colleagues find remarkable is the candor with which he does it.

"I understand," said Gaylord Nelson (D-Wis.) during energy markup one day in 1975, "that in my absence we passed the tax breaks for railroads, but omitted

railroad-over-water ferries—such as the one in Wisconsin."

"I'll be happy to give you that one without need of further discussion," Long replied, "but I expect you in exchange to vote for this next tax credit we're about to discuss."

Only Long knows for sure how seriously that remark was meant, but the "tax reform" lobbyists in the Senate take it seriously enough to cite it as an example of procedural abuses that make improvement difficult.

Not everybody on the liberal side finds Long's back-scratching so objectionable. "He's a very honest man," said one longtime aide to tax-reform-minded senators. "He's a very direct man. My feelings about him have changed over the years. I spent a great deal of my Hill career hating Long in abstraction. But he's honest. When he wants to carve out a loophole he'll tell you who he's doing it for. The goddam liberals will tell you it's for some candy ass reason."

When Ralph Nader and other critics complained that the committee was creating new "tax expenditures"—revenues lost to the Treasury through special tax preferences—Long said he would accept their word for it.

"...That label doesn't bother me," he said. "I've never been confused about it. I've always known that what we're doing was giving government money away."

Long's ability to talk plain English also wins him votes both in the committee and on the Senate floor. Senate observers point out that Senators often walk into a meeting or a floor debate virtually cold, with the choice of accepting Long's explanation, which is always simple and clear, or a dissenting view, expressed in arcane economic terms. Long gets the benefit of the doubt.

Even his most vehement opponents concede this. "He always twists things around backwards and they come out reasonable," said Bill Pietz, another tax lobbyist for the Nader organization. "It's a talent that he has. It's remarkable."

*Continued next page.*

# THE FREEDOM OF RUSSELL LONG





When he is unable to win out-right, Russell Long is a master of the "two for me, one for you" compromise. He goes into most negotiating sessions with plenty of minor points he is ready to concede in order to win on things he considers important.

In conferences with the House, he often loses on a majority of the individual points in dispute. But he rarely loses a majority of the key issues. In 1975, in conference over the emergency tax cut bill, for instance, he threw enough Senate-passed amendments overboard to preserve the oil depletion allowance for independent companies, which was his ultimate goal.

Colleagues say Long is also more than willing to call any victory a compromise. "Russell realizes the best way to pants a guy is when he doesn't know he's been pantsed," said Bob Packwood (R-Ore.).

"He makes you feel you're helping to make the decision," Matsunaga explained. "Actually he's making it."

But colleagues agree that the chairman is rarely dogmatic, and will nearly always cut his losses rather than squander his influence pursuing a lost cause.

"He'll stand up for his position when he knows he'll have an impact," said William V. Roth Jr. (R-Del.), who is also on Finance. "But he won't take a stand just for taking a stand. He feels as chairman it's important to be where the majority is."

**L**ong's preference for substantive rather than moral victories inclines him to look father down the legislative road than other legislators do. When most senators offer an amendment in committee, their attention is on that amendment and its chances for adoption. Long is already thinking beyond the committee to the Senate floor and the conference with the House.

One result of Long's tendency to look far down the road is a reluctance to bear

a grudge. Senators say Long looks for allies wherever he can find them on a given issue, regardless of what they might have said about him or he about them on the issue before.

No senator has clashed more often with Long over the years than Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass), who ousted him as majority whip in 1969 and consistently tries to rewrite Finance committee tax bills on the Senate floor.

Long's aides have told lobbyists privately that the chairman likes nothing better than to defeat Kennedy in public.

Yet recent visitors to the Senate chambers have often found Kennedy and Long engaged in amiable conversation, talking strategy or sharing a joke. In August Long and Kennedy issued a joint news release calling for an expansion of the investment tax credit.

Few sources believe this means Long and Kennedy will be on the same side when the next major tax revision bill comes to the floor. But they are tactical allies on one important issue.

### One of the boys.

The work of the Finance committee is done in a small hearing room, often packed to overcrowding, with senators seated casually around a series of card tables strewn with books and papers. Long avoids using the raised, horseshoe-shaped platforms common on most committees.

The situation helps give Finance committee meetings an air of informality that many observers think is as much a part of Long's strategy as his talking and bargaining. "Long's personality helps make it a bull session of colleagues," said one lobbyist.

In a situation like that, it becomes difficult for senators to resist going along with what another "one of the boys" wants done. And the informality of the setting makes it easier for Long to maintain a casual procedure.

In many cases, proposals are not brought to a formal vote. Or senators are not all clear what the vote is about. If the consensus goes Long's way, he can point out afterward that a decision had

been reached during the meeting. If it goes against him, he can say later that there was no real decision at all.

The whole procedure is frustrating to lobbyists like Pietz, Nader's tax specialist. "They sit around the table," he said. "They mumble. Half the people in the room can't hear. They banter. If a senator tries to win an argument on the merits, he's personally offending Russell."

### More conservative than Senate.

Supporters of tax reform have charged repeatedly over the years that the Finance committee is more conservative than the Senate as a whole. Most studies have tended to confirm this.

Political scientist Thomas Reese, in a recent study, found that Democrats on Finance throughout the postwar years tended to be lower in party unity voting than other Democrats.

Reese says most senators join Finance not because they have policy goals, but because they think they can help constituents economically and themselves politically.

He adds that the most serious problem for the tax reform side is that even those who do have liberal policy goals in general submerge them on the committee to the desire to get along with the chairman.

Others point out that the liberals who do go on the committee often place its tedious tax work secondary to more glamorous pursuits on other committees, attending to Finance mainly to fulfill constituent needs.

"Only the fanatics make Finance their main concern," said a former staff member. "Very few people spend any time on it at all. If Nader thinks he's going to find people willing to devote themselves single-handedly to Finance committee business, he's crazy."

Whatever the reason, the committee in recent years has developed a relatively bipartisan consensus in favor of tax incentives for the business community and against the wholesale elimination of tax expenditures, as Nader and others continue to recommend.

In many cases, this takes in virtually the entire seven-man Republican side of the aisle, and most of the Democrats just be-

low Long on the majority side, leaving liberals Floyd K. Haskell (D-Colo.) and William D. Hathaway (D-Maine) far short of the votes to challenge Long successfully within the committee.

### Reformer frustrations.

The senator who most symbolized tax reformers' frustrations in recent years was Walter F. Mondale (D-Minn., 1964-76), now Vice President.

Placed on the committee in 1973, partly at the insistence of liberal Democrats who felt they needed a stronger voice, Mondale rarely fought Long on any important tax issue.

Mondale told Finlay Lewis of the *Minneapolis Tribune*, it was just not worth his time to argue with Long. "I have to live in the real world," he said, "and I don't want to get isolated on the committee as a lone squeaking mouse."

Mondale also said he could accomplish more for causes he believed in—like child-care and aid to the elderly—by cooperating with Long.

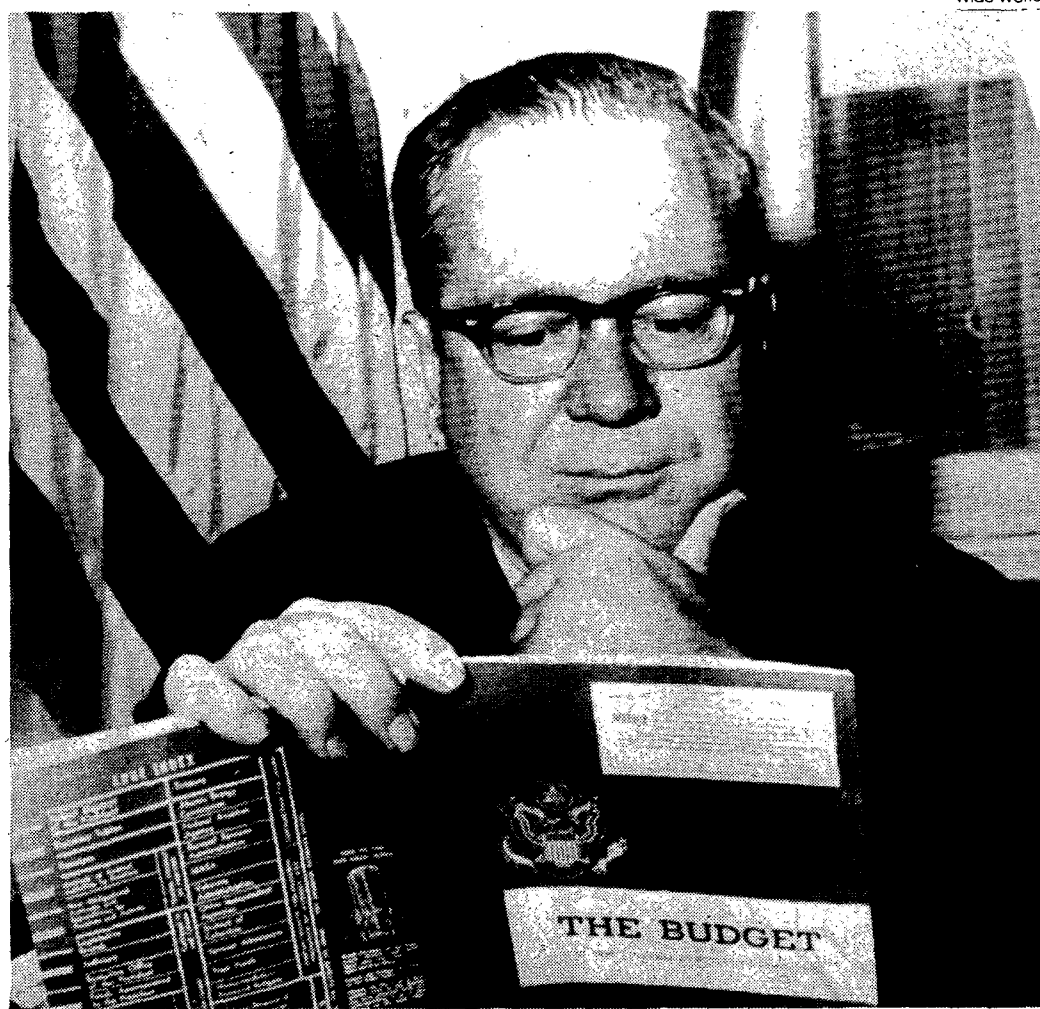
Tax reformers regard Haskell and Hathaway as their only true allies on the committee. During tax bill markup in 1976, narrow-interest amendments often passed with only their dissenting votes. Occasionally they were joined by Mondale, Nelson, or Vance Hartke (D-Ind., 1959-77).

Senators allied with Long are privately scornful of the Haskell-Hathaway approach. "They're useless," one of them said. "They don't attend the committee very much. They don't do any preparation ahead of time, talking to the members or explaining why they think something is worthwhile. They seem to delight in bringing up something cold turkey at markup."

### Republican dilemma.

Republicans on Finance continue to face the question of whether to cooperate with Long, obtaining favors at the cost of a party identity, or to insist on alternative positions, knowing that it will freeze them out of many committee decisions.

"When you're a small minority, you almost have to work with the other side,"



Long looks farther down the road... While most senators are working on amendments, he's thinking about the conference with the House.



said Roth of Delaware, a quiet but respected budget specialist who ranks fifth among the seven GOP members of the committee.

But John Danforth of Missouri, who with Paul Laxalt of Nevada joined the committee this year, leans toward the other approach. "We are in the minority," he said. "What we can accomplish by going along is relatively modest. What we need is a statement of alternatives."

Pietz of the Nader organization sides with Danforth—he thinks the Republicans lost out by agreeing to help Long so often.

"Russell just wraps the Republicans around his finger," he said. "He doesn't have to give them anything, and he knows that they'll always vote with him. If they began to be like Republicans on Ways and Means, they could be effective." Almost any change in the dynamics of the committee would help Pietz and the tax reformers, who nearly always lose as it stands now. "We just don't have the votes," Pietz conceded. "That's what it boils down to."

#### Christmas tree gifts.

Sheer numbers are also the reason Haskell and the tax reformers have no better luck on the Senate floor than they do in the Finance committee.

The full Senate has developed a reputation over the years as the most generous spot in town for virtually any special interest seeking a tax advantage. With members voting for each others' narrow-purpose amendments in order to guarantee support for their own, tax bills became the gift-laden "Christmas trees" that editorial writers love to complain about.

The Finance committee, criticized by liberals for adding too many revenue-losing tax breaks during markup, often finds itself arguing on the floor against decorating the tree even further.

Nevertheless, some critics complain that the few senators who are willing to vote against Long in the Finance committee—especially Haskell and Hathaway—are rarely the ones to stand up against him on the Senate floor.

"They're not really effective floor leaders," one tax lobbyist said of Hathaway and Haskell. "They try. But Ted Kennedy is willing to take the battles to the floor. He's got terrific backup, terrific advice, and he's a learner."

One observer close to the committee said these critics fail to look at the situation from the committee's point of view. "It's a plaything for Kennedy," he said. "He can offer his amendments and walk away from it. He isn't going to be on the conference committee. He doesn't have to get along with Long all year."

**T**he questions that divide the Nader-Kennedy side from Long and most of the business community are essentially simple ones.

The federal government has a limited number of ways it can help people and business. It can vote them money directly, through the appropriations process. It can guarantee their loans. It can reduce their taxes, either by allowing deductions from income or, as Democrats have increasingly preferred in recent years, by providing a dollar-for-dollar credit on the tax payment itself.

All these kinds of financial help are federal expenditures of a sort. If they come through the tax code, they are tax expenditures—or if that word is unacceptable, tax incentives.

The consensus of the liberal economic community in recent years has been that whatever you call them, most tax breaks are a bad policy. They contain a built-in bias in favor of the rich, who know how to use the tax system and who pay a higher percentage of their income in tax to begin with. Tax breaks are also difficult to measure in their precise impact.

The conclusion is that the Internal Revenue System should be used primarily to raise money, and not to further any other particular social or economic goals.

This is the position of Kennedy, Nader,

Hathaway and Haskell. It was the position Jimmy Carter generally espoused in his 1976 presidential campaign.

It is not the position of a majority of the Senate Finance committee.

In some ways, the most conservative members of the committee, such as Herman Talmadge (D-Ga.) and Carl Curtis (R-Neb.), come closest to the tax reform position. They argue that the tax system should encourage private business, but they otherwise favor a relatively simple tax system, free of social policy experiments.

On the other side are the more moderate Republicans, such as Packwood and Danforth, who not only want the tax code to stimulate business but to serve as an instrument of social policy as well. They share some of the progressive policy goals of Kennedy and Haskell, but reject the argument that tax incentives are the wrong way to do it.

#### Only tool he's got.

Long himself is clearly in favor of using the tax code to do whatever he thinks ought to be done.

"You can do a lot more than raise money with those tax laws," he told an interviewer this year. "You can speed up the economy or slow it down. You can encourage people to do all sorts of things that they ought to be doing for their own good as well as the good of the country."

Critics have often said Long feels that way only because the tax system is the only tool the Finance committee has. Long himself has come close to admitting this.

"When it comes to helping homeowners," he said in 1975, "if I were on the Banking committee I'd favor a loan guarantee for them because that would be in my jurisdiction. But since I'm on the Finance committee I favor the use of tax credits."

Unlike other southern Democrats, Long does not base his opposition to most liberal schemes on pure fiscal conservatism. He has been more than willing over the years to spend huge sums on social programs he is convinced will work. Long's criticisms of most welfare

proposals, for example, are based more on his feeling that too high a floor under income encourages laziness and undermines the work ethic.

#### Open to Carter.

On some issues, Russell Long appears to have given President Carter the benefit of whatever doubts exist in his mind.

Less than a month after Carter was elected, Long told Carter to be liberal in his recommendations for an economic stimulus. When Carter recommended a \$50 rebate for individual taxpayers, Long stuck with him despite widespread congressional criticism and Long's own comparison of such rebates to "throwing \$50 bills off the top of the Washington monument." Long was still for the rebate in April until Carter announced it was no longer necessary.

Long has been less kind to Carter's welfare initiative, announced in August. After waiting over a week to say anything about the plan, Long issued a statement saying it would be foolish to take such a drastic step nationally without trying local pilot programs first.

But his reaction left enough ambiguity to allow supporters of the plan to feel Long could be brought around eventually.

"The President is doing the best he can, as a man from Georgia, to come up here and try to run things," Long told his committee in July. "He learns something new every day."

Many longtime observers of the Finance committee are now wondering what Long will tell Carter if the administration recommends anything close to what the President advocated last year on taxes—treating all income alike.

A system that taxed all incomes the same, wiping out existing credits and deductions, would leave little for the Finance committee but the relatively routine job of raising revenue.

Hardly anyone thinks Carter will do all of what he said on taxes in the 1976 campaign. Current speculation is mostly about the merits of a few specific tax preferences—like the current double taxation of corporate dividends.

But the potential for collision remains.



Tax reformers see Floyd Haskell (left) and William Hathaway as their only allies on the committee. But they have little real impact on Finance.



# What's good for business is bad for us

The current layoffs in the steel, rubber, television and other industries are among the more dramatic instances of the general trend in the U.S. and the other industrial capitalist countries toward high unemployment and low investment, even in the midst of what experts call "recovery."

The upturn from the last recession allegedly started in March 1975, and now, well into its third year, the best it can manage is 7 percent unemployment and lower investments than early in the recession year of 1974. "Stagflation"—rising prices in the midst of flagging demand and high unemployment—continues unabated.

A month ago, the Business Roundtable, consisting of executives of America's largest corporations, told President Carter that business was in good shape and that the administration should do little more than it is already doing. But good shape for business is hard times for the people. It is a "problem of both excessively high unemployment and excessively high inflation," one to which, as chairman of the Senate Banking Committee William Proxmire (D-Wisc.) put it, "there is no answer."

The Senator is repeating conventional wisdom and revealing the bankruptcy of prevalent business and political thought. We agree with him that there is no answer within the closed circle of capitalist economics. But there are answers to be found in "new frontiers" beyond it. If the partisans of corporate capitalism have given up the pioneer spirit in order to preserve their system, others will take up this spirit in quest of the good society.

The American people are looking for answers, but they will not be found short of seeing the problem not as stagflation but as capitalism. Briefly, world capitalism by the late '60s had returned to the classic bind of overproduction and excess capacity relative to effective demand that has plagued it since before World War I. In this century, two world wars, a great depression, and imperialist expansion destroyed excess capacity and created new demand. Except for depression, those avenues out of the bind are not readily available.

## The experts agree.

As American economist-laureate Paul Samuelson says, "The miracle of Europe's and Japan's postwar growth is now over, so we find the growing competition between capitals for existing world markets forcing down profits." From *Business Week* to the OECD, authorities now agree that capitalists are responding to lowered profits from excess capital by raising prices on declining output and by refusing to invest in more capacity. The result is unemployment and inflation.

What is euphemistically called the "profit incentive" and lauded as the engine of progress is in reality the hydraulic brake on economic development and well-being. In pursuit of profit, corporations are closing plants, laying off workers, raising prices and interest rates, and paying out record dividends to stockholders. Profits are less and less a requisite surplus for the expansion or improvement of productive capacities. It is increasingly a social ransom demanded by capitalists as the condition for the people using their means of production. General Electric chairman Reginald H. Jones stated it succinctly: "Businessmen are... holding back... because they do not have, under today's conditions, either the confidence or the incentive to invest."

**Too important to leave to business.** The economy and the people's well-being



A social investment system subject to democratic control would prevent capitalists from shutting down or running away with plants and disrupting the lives of countless employees and whole communities. It would prevent capitalists from playing off American workers against lower paid foreign workers and causing animosity between them.

are too important to leave to the "confidence" and "incentive" of businessmen. As long as capitalists retain the ultimate authority over employment of labor and productive capacities, the people will suffer unemployment, inflation and the social dislocations both bring. Replacing the profit incentive with a social incentive—in rising real incomes, better social services, and full employment—would solve the problem of "stagflation," but only by moving to put an end to capitalism.

The partisans of capitalism seek to confine political debate to conventional alternatives that prevent raising such a question in the political mainstream. Consider the most prominent of those alternatives:

- Fiscal and monetary policy that leaves capitalism in place is universally

conceded to be ineffective in producing full employment with or without inflation.

- "Free trade" (or the "open door") is recommended as best suited to extending markets, thereby creating more jobs, and stemming inflation through international competition. But it is precisely "free trade" that has brought world capitalism since the end of World War II to its present impasse. It is, moreover, increasingly facilitating the export of jobs and import of expensive goods. The chief competition free trade provokes is between American and foreign workers.

- Protection is urged as a way of preserving jobs and production levels at home. But in an interdependent world economy, protection would not resolve the problem of excess capacity relative

to effective demand and will probably aggravate it.

None of these alternatives are solutions; all of them mean prolonged injury to the working people. But they are all the partisans of capitalism have to offer.

## Protectionism.

Imbedded in the idea of protection, however, lies a broader principle that by leading beyond capitalism goes to the heart of the matter. It is the principle of the social control of the market. A social investment system subject to democratic control would prevent capitalists from shutting down or running away with plants and disrupting the lives of countless employees and whole communities. It would prevent capitalists from playing off American workers against lower paid foreign workers and causing animosity between them. It would prevent capitalists from exporting goods that could be used at home, and importing goods of which there are plenty at home, in the pursuit of higher profit margins. It would make investment decisions, their purpose and their pace, responsible to social needs and aspirations instead of to absentee financiers and stockholders. It would make possible stable trade relations with other countries on the basis of full employment planning here and abroad, the best basis for expanding employment and rising living standards in the U.S. and other countries.

## Socialist issues.

These are the kind of issues American socialists can raise in public debate. In the meantime, we can also address ourselves directly, on a short-term basis, to the desperate fear of unemployment among working people now expressing itself in protectionist sentiments. We can work for laws against runaway shops or shutting down plants without community approval, and laws that provide for the assumption of public ownership and worker control of plants businessmen refuse to keep in production. We can propose a public banking system that would help finance the transition to public ownership and the establishment of new public enterprises.

We can propose that in the case of industries given protection against imports more be done to protect workers and consumers: In such cases there should be price controls and excess profits taxes; the businesses involved should be required to make full disclosure of their costs, expenditures, and profits; they should be required to recognize unions (if they do not already) chosen by their workers, and to bargain in good faith; they should be required to guarantee against layoffs and to inaugurate programs for taking on and training young workers.

If businesses are to be the beneficiaries of public protection, then they should be obliged to be responsible to the public in such ways as these.

Socialists, in other words, may turn the issue of protection, as the other issues of free trade, fiscal and monetary policy, unemployment, and inflation, to the issue of a social as against the capitalist investment system.

It is an issue that would more effectively turn the American people's attention to becoming a more helpful partner to other peoples of the world in their aspirations for development and well-being. And it is the issue that must lead the American labor movement and American socialists to join hands with foreign labor movements and socialists in replacing business internationalism with not just rhetorical but a real working-class internationalism. ■



# Letters

## Happy anniversary

Editor:

Just a First Anniversary note to let you know how much I appreciate your newspaper. I'm one of those "veterans of the '60s" who became very cautious and (I hope) discriminating about what he's going to believe in. *ITT* definitely makes it. Your articles are thoughtful, honest and broadening; your approach to the problem of building a socialist movement is coherent, non-dogmatic, and does not depend upon excluding unpleasant truths from political debate.

I'm happy to see the incorporation of ecological insight into your general analysis. From time to time during the year I had misgivings, but in retrospect now I can see that they were all trivial; furthermore, and amazingly enough, *ITT* seems to be slowly and steadily improving. I thought the David Milton China article (Oct. 12) was the most succinct and perceptive article on China I have ever read. It's good to know you're around. Happy anniversary. And many more.

—Martin Glass  
Oakland, Calif.

## One good fern deserves another

Editor:

Re: "Teng for President" (*ITT*, Oct. 19); Don't give Karmen a column—give him the paper.

—Milt Wolff  
El Cerrito, Calif.

## Mideast malarkey?

Editor:

Sorry I must take strong issue with you for the grotesque cartoon of Israel's Begin leading a blindfolded Uncle Sam by the beard (*ITT*, Oct. 12). Your anti-Israel bias displays itself also in your front page picture of Begin. Your photographer either deliberately or by accident caught the worst possible view of a man speaking with heartfelt passion, but the fault is yours for publishing it so prominently. Would you have chosen to publish on your front page a picture of Arafat with guns on hip striding into the United Nations as an honored guest? Methinks not.

The editorial that accompanies the cartoon is, in part, a direct contradiction. You state Israel and the Palestinians are both "little more than pawns in great power world- and oil-politics." Pawns do not, as a rule, lead anyone by the beard. That refugee Palestinians are pawns for their Arab masters there can be no doubt, since they could have been all assimilated easily long ago within the numerous oil-rich Arab states, with room to spare. Instead Arab rulers preferred to help subsidize refugee camps on Israel's harassed flank to serve as a thorn in her side and a goad against a peaceful Israel.

As for the PLO, that bloody, dictatorial cabal no more represents the majority of Palestinians than Taiwan represents Mainland China. The PLO chiefs look only for wealth and power, their interest in people's rights is non-existent.

If peace in the Mideast is to become a reality, both Israel and the Arabs will have to bend, but for heaven's sake, don't give us that malarkey of an "intransigent" Israeli. If your life was at stake after the same party had attempted to stab you time and again, you would be a fool not to take every precaution that it does not happen again by taking the knife away. You don't reward an assassin by returning the weapon. Israel does not intend to commit suicide just to make friends and influence people.

—Shirley Wolf  
Chicago

## Libertarians and socialists

Editor:

I must take issue with Joshua Dressler's either/or approach to socialism and libertarianism (*ITT*, Oct. 5). There are as many kinds of libertarians as there are socialists (and you know how many different varieties of *that* label exist. To assume that the Libertarian party's philosophy represents all libertarians is as ingenuous as assuming that the Socialist party speaks for all socialists.

Regarding the helmet laws of which Dressler speaks, if only libertarians opposed them (and not motorcyclists), Dressler might have a point. But cyclists form the core of the opposition to such laws. Perhaps this is because they are well aware that the sense of freedom and movement that a motorcycle imparts is achieved as part of a conscious trade-off with the relative safety available within the frame of a car. Bikers sans helmets, like skateboarders, know they are taking a chance—a risk that they relish.

If all motorcyclists wanted to wear helmets, helmet laws would be redundant. As it is, the social value of helmet laws is in granting a slight protective margin to other motorists by reducing the potential for injury to the cyclist in case of accident.

I do not think it unreasonable to suggest that libertarians and socialists have much to learn from each other. In fact, there is a growing segment of the left that characterizes itself as libertarian socialist—a segment highly aware of the tendency of socialist (or quasi-socialist) governments to congeal into bureaucratic monoliths.

—Jay Kinney  
San Francisco

## A convert?

Editor:

You put out a very good paper. I just let my *Guardian* sub lapse because I cringed almost every page at the hard-edge rhetoric; and felt a bit guilty about doing so, but who needs to read screaming, positive, "militant" headlines over stories that are all too often blah or simply negative? I'd rather decide for myself whether the week's news is up or down. *ITT* allows for an intelligent readership.

—Jon Livingston  
Berkeley, Calif.

## Protest Shah's U.S. visit

Editor:

By early November, the despotic Shah of Iran will be visiting the U.S. to receive the "reaffirmation of U.S. support" and be embraced by his new boss in the White House.

Aside from the usual huff and puff public gestures about "human rights," the dictatorial Shah and Mr. Carter are basically to conclude the following plots against the Iranian people:

1. Shah is to be briefed on the results of the Carter administration's six-month study on Iran and the Persian gulf. This study broadens the direct military involvement of the U.S. in this region and includes plans for invasion in case the Shah's regime and U.S. corporate interests are seriously threatened either by the liberation movements in the area or by competition by the Soviet Union.

2. Conclude arms agreements with the Shah promising him a continuation of the Nixon administration's *carte blanche* arms sale policy for his regime.

3. Apply make-up to the notorious image of the Shah who is known as a vicious dictator and his regime as the most oppressive in the world. In this way, Carter hopes to hide the glaring contradiction between continued support for the Shah and his rhetoric on human rights.

Iranian Students Association in the U.S. strongly urges all freedom-loving people to oppose and condemn the Shah's visit, and to rally behind the Iranian people in this just struggle for independence and democracy.

—Iranian Students Assoc.  
P.O. Box A3575  
Chicago

## In praise of "terror"

Editor:

Your, and Diana Johnstone's use of the highly charged and relatively irrational terms "terrorists" and "desperadoes" when referring to the Baader-Meinhoff RAF people in Germany sent me to my dictionary. So here are these violent criminal bomb throwers and their victims, the poor Nazis! And of course, a few upper middle class university Marxists, theorizing their way to Mecca or Bethlehem or wherever university Marxists are going.

Who is being "terrorized"? And who is performing the criminal violence that drives some of its victims to acts of desperation? Your simplistic application of these terms is no different, in essence, from the mass media analysis of the SLA/Patty Hearst events of a few years ago. Because a millionairess was kidnapped by a band of revolutionaries, the people were expected to quake in fear of "the terrorists."

As though the average American was a member of the Hearst family! Most Americans, not being university theorists, were hardly worried about the "terror" of the SLA, having to deal with the daily terror of programmed reality. I have a feeling that the average German has much more to be concerned about than whether a millionaire gets kidnapped.

The terror and criminality we encounter and participate in every day, the lying, stealing, cheating, the rape and murder of mind and body, should concern radicals and socialists. Not the perpetuation of ruling class ideology through language pollution, however cosmetized by leftist jargon. "Terrorists and their victims" indeed. The only time the various 'sects' of the left unite is when something too practical occurs in the real world.

Which side are you on, folks?

—Frank Scott  
San Rafael, Calif.

## For women in name only

Editor:

As far as I could tell the CACOSH conference on Women and Occupational Health (*ITT*, Oct. 19) was notable for its non-women orientation: males leading workshops contributed to making the day a woman's day in name only. Particularly ironic was the OSHA workshop with two white male discussion leaders representing the workers and a white woman and a chicano man representing OSH. They talked procedure and forms until most of us fell asleep.

One woman factory worker broke the drone of voices with genuine indignation at the situation in her workplace and her supervisor's nonresponsiveness. The men soothed her into uncertainty, insecurity and silence by pointing out her stupidity in not going through channels, which admittedly often take years, if they work at all. ("Give us a break," smiled Mr. Besuited Chicano charmingly, "we're snowed under." The "we're all pals in the backroom" air prevailed. Levied Cacoshers grin sheepishly. "Sure, we know you're snowed under, but safety is an immediate matter.")

The conference was notable also for the absence of anyone asking why health and safety continues to be a mounting problem—that includes pollution of air, water, and minds.

The political economics of health and safety was carefully skirted. Except for one friend's statistic on better records in Russia, ancient communist fears of raising questions of roots, of placing the problem in an historical context hung heavy in the union hall as Joe McCarthy's cigar smoke.

—Teena Brown  
Chicago

## Blue Collars losing turf

Editor:

Now that most informed people no longer hold to the once-popular notion that the blue collar worker in the U.S. was all but wiped out by cybernetics, a new, more dazzling and possibly a more

desperate notion is being offered: that the very turf of the blue collar workers is being wiped out—that Chicago, Detroit, Pittsburgh, Milwaukee, New York are about to be buried, and from their ashes there is arising a new industrial center in the New South.

Stanley Aronowitz' guest column (*ITT*, Oct. 18) reworks this rickety, unproved theory. However, there are no reliable figures to show that industrial growth in the South during the last ten years has been significantly more rapid than it has been in the North, or that the sophisticated Wall Street banks are losing out to folksy southern financial institutions. Although petroleum production, natural gas operations, and ranching conglomerates are flourishing in Texas and Oklahoma rather than in the Berkshire Hills or the Catskills, there isn't really very much else to point to.

The advantages of the open shop, cheap labor, tax breaks, absence of controls, were once upon a time substantial incentives for industry to locate in the South. But of course this life-belt for a troubled industry has been pretty well deflated in recent years, and not surprisingly northern capitalists are as smart as their southern kin folk in controlling labor and in wheedling government subsidies. Much more pertinent to the crisis of American capitalism in both the North and the South is the insurgent movements of workers, blacks, women, and the development of industry in the non-capitalist world.

—Charles Spencer  
author of *Blue Collar*  
Chicago

## Eleanor Miller

Eleanor Miller, an activist for many years in progressive causes, died Oct. 9 in Philadelphia after a long illness. A talented sculptor, she also pioneered in teaching sculpture to the blind. She leaves her husband Joseph, her son David, and her three daughters, Wendy, Rima and Beth.

**Editor's Note:** Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

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M. Ron Karenga

# Black criticism of Carter: appearance and essence

Serious analysis of any phenomenon or process must define and discuss the socio-historical context in which it occurs. Such is the requirement for understanding and drawing the appropriate lessons from the black criticism of President Carter and the controversy that has developed around it.

The present crisis of black leadership should be considered against the background of the planned decimation and discrediting of black leaders during the '60s by police and intelligence agencies, which created a vacuum that still exists. It is exacerbated by a crisis of ideology—that is, the absence of a clear and coherent conception of what is to be done. The black leadership crisis, moreover, occurs at a time of worsening socio-economic conditions not only for blacks but for the whole country.

Blacks, however, are especially hard hit. Unemployment among blacks is 14.5 percent, as compared with about 7 percent for whites, and it will no doubt continue to rise. Black teenagers are hit by over 40 percent unemployment, over twice the rate among white teenagers. The rise in *lumpen* activity in the black community reflects the increase in the scarcity of basics and the erosion of values in a context where profits mean more than people, and concern with the immediate undermines interest in the future. Moreover, recent legal and political gains are being challenged and eroded and blacks lack the structural capacity on both the local and national level successfully to confront this tendency.

Criticism of Carter by the Urban League and the Congressional Black Caucus occurs in this context and yields five fundamental lessons.

First, the criticism is "correct" but not fundamental. It is directed against the behavior of a person, an administration, not against the system in which both operate. Such non-systemic criticism is deceptively superficial and poses what should be minimum goals as maximum goals of black people. It is true that the administration has no real national policies for full employment, national health, urban revitali-

zation, welfare or "aggressive affirmative action." But is it the administration or the system that militates against such a planned economy and urgent social correctives? And is the simple stress on jobs not a narrowing of focus away from the overall criticism of the system's inability to meet its claims and thus, the compelling need for broad and profound social change in the U.S.?

## A moral appeal

Second, because the criticism is made from a position of weakness rather than strength and is essentially friendly, rather than oppositional, it is fundamentally a moral appeal and not a power demand. The Urban League and the Black Caucus know that they, in fact, did not organize blacks to elect Carter and that blacks voted not necessarily for Carter, but primarily for a Democrat. Also, they know that regardless of Carter's response, they do not have the capacity to do anything more than request meetings, hold press conferences and issue statements. Thus when representative Parren Mitchell (D—Md.), chairman of the Black Caucus, says he told Carter he would fight him with "all the vigor" he possessed, he certainly understood that his vigor and organizational strength among the masses of black folk are two different things.

This recognition of weakness by the black critics not only forces them into the role of making moral appeals for "social kindness," but also gives an ambivalent janus-faced character to their criticism and response to the administration. Thus, Vernon Jordan begins his speech not with criticism of Carter, but with praise of him as a friend and as an essentially progressive president. At the September fundraising dinner of the Black Caucus, Carter received a standing ovation before and after his speech, which was interrupted several times by applause. Such an ambivalent posture is hardly reflective of strength and commitment. Nor is it the stuff out of which successful struggle is made.

## Carter leading from strength.

A third lesson from all this is that the Carter administration also understands the obvious position of weakness from which its black critics speak, and will respond accordingly. Carter, in response to Jordan, stated with a ludicrous mixture of "disdain and how-dare-you" that Jordan's criticism was "erroneous" and "demagogic." Moreover, he admitted that blacks are not getting a fair deal, but pointed out to the pious that there were a lot of things in life not fair or equal and it was not the role of the government to go about fixing them.

Surely this is not a man under the illusion that he owes his presidency to the Urban League or the Black Caucus, or that they have the capacity to penalize or reward him in any significant way. Nor is he, as some might assume, confusing the League and Caucus with the masses of black people they suggest they speak for—directly and indirectly. Deny Carter what one will, he is a skilled political observer and technician. His understanding of the crisis of black leadership leaves him ample latitude to delay and chide his black critics. On the other hand, he will respond to more powerful interests and maintain his own priorities—balancing the budget, reducing inflation, and a strong, military-backed foreign policy—regardless of moral appeals in the name of minimum social justice.

Fourth, even though launched from a position of weakness and incomplete, the criticism of Carter enhanced Vernon Jordan's and the Black Caucus' image of political leadership. This proves to be a problem on at least two levels. It increases the probability that moderate black leadership will fill the leadership vacuum created by the destruction and discrediting of left black leadership in the '60s, and thus perpetuates the crisis of leadership among blacks rather than solves it. And it means that the tendency to project minimum goals as maximum goals will gain strength and divert attention from programs of broad and fundamental change in society.



Given this state of affairs, the historical victimization of blacks will continue in new forms and the real solution to the problem will be disguised and dismissed as unreal, simplistic and suicidal.

## Lacking mass leverage.

Fifth, the black leaders' criticism and the controversy around it illustrate the historical problem of the petty-bourgeoisie, the professional in this case. The essence of the problem is that although they have skills and access to contexts of power, winning and maintaining their people's loyalty is always problematic. Amilcar Cabral's solution that they commit class suicide and identify totally with the interests of the black masses is theoretically sound. The problem comes in practice.

Regardless of their skills and access to the powerful, they lack real leverage that only a mass-based organization or movement can provide. The black critics of the Carter administration are pseudo-oppositional, ambivalent and unrepresentative of the needs of the masses. But in the absence of a clear alternative, their criticism seems bold and basic. Moreover, the unorganized character of the black community makes it vulnerable to externally imposed or "respectable" leadership as is the case with so many black professionals.

This is a deplorable condition. It will not be dispelled by cries of betrayal, tomism and sellouts. For in the final analysis, real criticism of social conditions must be transformed into social practice to change them. This requires, at a minimum, active commitment to the awesome task of organizing the masses of black people so they, themselves, can take control of their daily lives and build their future in their own image.

*M. Ron Karenga, an adjunct professor of social change at U.S. International University, San Diego, is author of Afro-American Nationalism: Social Strategy and Struggle for Community, to be published in March 1978 by Third World Press.*

## DIALOG

### Yugoslavia: it's not as simple as it looks

Having just returned from a summer's work on Grand Valley State Colleges' programs in Sarajevo and Krakow I am late in responding to the anonymous criticism of my article on Yugoslavia *TT*, (*Dialog*, *ITT*, May 25).

Two points deserve comment. Poor word choice or excessive editing may have wrongly suggested that the 1974 constitution represented a popular compromise. The compromise reached was within the party (League of Communists) which then convinced the general population.

Secondly, the "avid reader" and I agree that the party is vigorously reasserting itself. But saying it is trying to control all aspects of life distorts reality beyond recognition for everyone save a few American diplomats, Croatian fascists, and cold warriors. In this light I will update my initial report rather than answer unfounded personal attacks.

First the problem areas:

- To increase productivity the party is directing workers councils to increase capital accumulation and distribute in-

come according to the measurement of work performed. Since the party believes technical experts need more stimulation, the result will be decreased expenditures for social services, lower income for the unskilled, and increased social differences. Low income workers are more attracted by Soviet-style centralism than other groups.

- Yugoslavs are nervous about the unprecedented welcomes Tito received in the USSR, China, and North Korea in August. Soviet pressures for military concessions seem mounting.

- Many party officials increasingly abuse their influence for personal gain and decrease their effectiveness as leaders. As socialist rhetoric increases, believability decreases. Other party members are unable or unwilling to alter this trend. In fact, data given at the Paris Self-Management Conference last month indicated that young Yugoslavs most active in political affairs scored lowest in egalitarian values.

- Internal security, ostensibly due to the European Security Conference in Belgrad, is tighter than anytime since the mid-'60s.

Conversely:

- The decentralization of factories into units of associated labor has clearly increased the participation of all workers. People feel they have more influence over work-related issues.

- The self-managed planning process—building from associated labor units upward—is functioning (though sloppily) and is worthy of serious study as a model of decentralized planning.

- In August Edward Kardelj, second to Tito in the party, circulated a paper for discussion at the next party congress calling for more open discussion of differ-

ences—proclaiming a new socialist pluralism.

The image is confused because Yugoslavia may possess more contradictions than any other social system. Could it be otherwise when a Leninist party imposes self-management on a multi-national, peasant-based country forced to find its

own way amidst Eastern and Western imperialism?

I know of no country about which foreigners disagree more or to which we are more willing to give advice.

Kenneth Zapp  
Allendale, Mich.

## I DIDN'T KNOW TATI

—Saul Landau

I never saw a raven in her eyes  
or black lillies round her neck  
Her voice spoke Fall and Summer chimes;  
in her gait the Spring of youth

I could not imagine—my mind's cliché—  
the sorrows she dared to feel  
nor taste the acid of family wounds  
that burned beneath her smile

I never spied a raven on her back  
or black lillies in her hair  
Her words said brave and noble deeds;  
In her stare the grasp of truth

I did not know—a simple phrase—  
of depths she dared to probe  
nor divine the slime of torture tales  
that boiled within her bowel

I never saw the raven strike her  
or black lillies curl round her throat  
Her lips purred blends of confidence;  
on her shoulders stood the world

I could not believe—I'd said before—  
such gangrene within her soul  
nor fathom depths of human hate  
that she had come to know.

*Beatriz (Tati) Allende, oldest daughter of Salvador Allende, committed suicide on October 11, four years and one month after the overthrow of her father's government in Chile. She had been living in Cuba and had been gathering testimony of Chileans tortured by DINA, the secret police of the Pinochet regime.*



Staughton Lynd

## Labor and the law

## The Youngstown steel shutdown

At about 8 a.m. on the morning of Monday, Sept. 19, the phone rang in the homes of presidents of Youngstown Sheet and Tube union locals in the Mahoning Valley. It was the company industrial relations man. Would the presidents please be at the company offices at 10 for an important announcement?

When the presidents gathered as requested, Sheet and Tube's area manager read them a press release simultaneously made available to the media. Five thousand employees in the Youngstown area were to be permanently laid off. The presidents, taken completely by surprise, tried to ask questions. The executive hurried off to another meeting. Four days later, the first several hundred discharges were on the street.

This brutal event appears to be the largest single layoff in the U.S. since the end of World War II. With variations, it is being repeated in other communities and other industries across the country.

Is there any adequate way to respond when capitalism makes unilateral investment decisions? The only fully adequate answer is political: nationalization, or better yet, employee-community ownership in a socialized economy.

Hopefully the law can make a modest contribution in this kind of situation. Steelworkers and legal workers in the Youngstown area believe the following three strategies are consistent with the long-run objective of public ownership, and worthy of support:

1. File a grievance and ask a court for an injunction pending arbitration.

The Sheet and Tube locals have filed third-step grievances that charge that the company shutdown violates the no-lockout clause in the basic steel contract.

The obvious rebuttal is that a shutdown is not a lockout. A lockout, so runs the ar-

**This brutal event appears to be the largest layoff in the U.S. since the end of WWII. With variations, it is being repeated in other cities and other industries across the country.**

gument, occurs during bargaining and is intended to achieve a bargaining objective.

But the steelworkers who suggested this strategy have a valid point, too. They observe that the Steelworkers union has given up the right to strike, both during the life of the contract and, on a national scale, when the contract terminates. They insist that it would be unfair to interpret the no-lockout clause in such a way as to leave the company free to terminate production while the union's hands are tied. Add the fact that the shutdowns in steel were undoubtedly planned last spring while collective bargaining was in process, and the "lockout" argument becomes plausible.

Even if the grievance is plausible, this strategy faces other problems. The U.S. Supreme Court has held that a court may not issue an injunction to freeze a dispute while a grievance is making its way to arbitration. A sympathetic local court might issue an injunction, but it would probably be vacated on appeal. I would nevertheless seek such an injunction, partly because it buys time, and partly because I think the Supreme Court's position is wrong.

2. Charge the company with failure to bargain in good faith under the National Labor Relations Act.

The Sheet and Tube locals have also filed an 8(a)(5) charge with the National Labor Relations Board. The charge asserts: "There was no prior notice to the union. There was no effort on the part

of the company to bargain in good faith with the union. No attempt was made to lay the company's difficulties before the union, and to seek the union's counsel about possible alternatives to the shutdown." The charge asks the Regional Director of the Board not only to issue a complaint, but to seek an injunction from a federal district court.

The basis of the 8(a)(5) charge is a Board doctrine that requires a company to bargain with a union about a partial shutdown. A strong recent case to this effect is *Mack Trucks*, 95 LRRM 1463 (July 21, 1977). There the Board declared:

"The Act requires an employer to bargain with its employees' representative about matters that affect wages, hours, and terms and conditions of employment. Unilateral changes in employment conditions may not be effectuated without bargaining... This obligation remains notwithstanding an employer's contention that such a requirement significantly restricts its ability to manage the business. The underlying rationale for requiring bargaining over such matters is that the union... should be afforded an opportunity to engage in a full and frank discussion regarding such decisions. In this way parties are presented with an opportunity to explore possible alternatives to accommodate their respective interests and thereby to resolve whatever issue confronts them in a mutually acceptable way."

3. Sue the employer under the anti-trust

laws or by a stockholders' derivative suit.

Such suits require a lot of money. They do not offer quick solutions. They have the following advantages:

a. Once such a suit is filed, plaintiffs can use the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure to obtain documents, interview witnesses under oath, and physically inspect facilities.

b. Suits of this kind direct attention to fundamentals, rather than symptoms. For instance, an anti-trust suit against the Sheet and Tube shutdown decision would explore: Did the Lykes conglomerate acquire Sheet and Tube with the intention of looting its cash flow for other corporate purposes? Did the American steel industry conspire to reduce capacity between Aug. 1 when local unions were no longer free to strike and Jan. 1 when increased pension benefits become effective?

c. Should the corporation be found liable the classical remedy is divestiture: breaking up the conglomerate. Thus, an anti-trust action is consistent with the objective of employee-community ownership.

For two reasons, an anti-trust suit is probably preferable to a stockholders' derivative suit. A stockholders' derivative suit cannot be filed until the discontented stockholders have first appealed to the corporate management. And the theory of a stockholders' suit is that management decisions have damaged the profitability of the corporation. It is an awkward instrument for arguing that a decision may be both profitable and wrong.

*Staughton Lynd, a longtime civil rights and antiwar activist, practices law in Youngstown, Ohio. He and Alice Lynd edited Rank and File, Personal Histories by Working-Class Organizers. His column appears regularly.*



Alvah Bessie

## Considered Opinion

## The best [censored] stories of 1976

*Congress shall make no law...abridging the freedom of speech or of the press...*

But nowhere does the Constitution say the "free" press shall publish the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, without fear or favor, nor suppress those truths necessary for a free people to know in order to live in liberty and health and peace.

For as long as it has run, people have played on the slogan of the *New York Times*, twisting it to read "All the News That's Print to Fit," "All the News It Pays to Print," etc. For the American people are not dopes: they know there is a close connection between the press and politics; between the national and multinational corporations that run the government the papers presumably report on to a trusting public; and that the press is big business itself.

So it is no surprise to us to find, week in and week out, that the press not only plays up what it wants people to believe, or not believe—but it also suppresses information it feels we should not know.

In Marc Blitzstein's hilarious comic opera of the 1930s, *The Cradle Will Rock*, the leading tycoon Mister Mister and his cohorts sang a song whose chorus ran: "Oh, the press, the press, the freedom of the press; oh, they never will suppress the freedom of the press—" and they swore to print the truth, come hell or high water, "for whichever side will pay the best."

The press no longer needs to be bought. Its support and its profits come from ad-

vertising, not circulation. A report on that press has recently been issued that none of us saw on our front pages in banner headlines of 120 point bold caps. It originated with a group of students in a sociology seminar in mass communications at Sonoma State College (California)—and more power to them. It became a nationwide research effort called *Project Censored*.

The California students submitted to a panel of eight judges of national standing, a group of 25 news stories from which the judges selected 10, all of which had received little or no coverage by the mass media in 1976, when they occurred.

The Best Censored Stories:

● Jimmy Carter, campaigning as a poor but honest millionaire peanut farmer who was agin The Establishment and had been Born-Again-in-Christ, had for at least three years been a member of an international group of power-brokers who make policy on a high level and which is the creature of the Rockefellers. It is called The Trilateral Commission (Japan, U.S., Western Europe) and today quite a number of Carter's co-commissioners sit in such cabinet posts as State, U.N. Ambassador (token black Andrew Young), Defense, Treasury, National Security, etc. These gentlemen and their Commission are interested in—money.

● It has been possible for some time to create life artificially through the manipulation of DNA, the substance that carries the genes which determine the inherited characteristics of living creatures. Many scientists feel that tampering with these genes could upset the evolutionary balance

of life, and the tampering could not be detected until it was too late. Who controls this research? Private industry. Can the government control it? Not effectively.

● According to the World Health Organization, half a million people, most of them in Third World countries, are poisoned annually by pesticides and drugs banned in the U.S. American manufacturers continue to make and export them, of course. Have you read about these people anywhere?

● Or read about the press conference in Washington in June 1976, called by the People's Bicentennial Commission, at which documented evidence was produced that Mobil Oil, alone, "is keeping alive a regime that has been not only embargoed but condemned by virtually every nation on earth..." Rhodesia. The conference was widely covered but the story achieved minimal mention in the media. Mobil is one of the biggest advertisers in the world.

● Our government let slip last year that 150,000 pounds of nuclear materials, 11,000 of which were of weapon-grade quality, had simply vanished. Lax control and inadequate reactor safeguards, said the report, pose a real threat to the safety of the American people, few of them even know about.

● Untold numbers of American workers are injured, diseased and killed on the job in U.S. industry every year, according to the U.S. Occupational Safety & Health Administration. There is practically no coverage of these facts and the workers are dying needlessly for American industry because industry's safeguards (sic)

do not deal adequately with on-the-job dangers.

● Did you read anywhere last year that Henry Kissinger had directed the CIA to manipulate intelligence estimates of a Soviet bomber's range for use in Strategic Arms Limitation Talks negotiations? *Aviation Week* printed the story; Henry demanded a retraction and an apology, got neither because the facts were correct.

● Have you read that the Food and Drug Administration says that more than 500,000 different non-prescription drugs not only generate millions in sales every year, but that the people who buy them are "victims of a gigantic medical hoax"? Because "at least half the drugs are worthless or of dubious value, and some may be harmful. Most...are labelled with misleading claims, and many...with bold lies." Drug manufacturers are among the biggest advertisers.

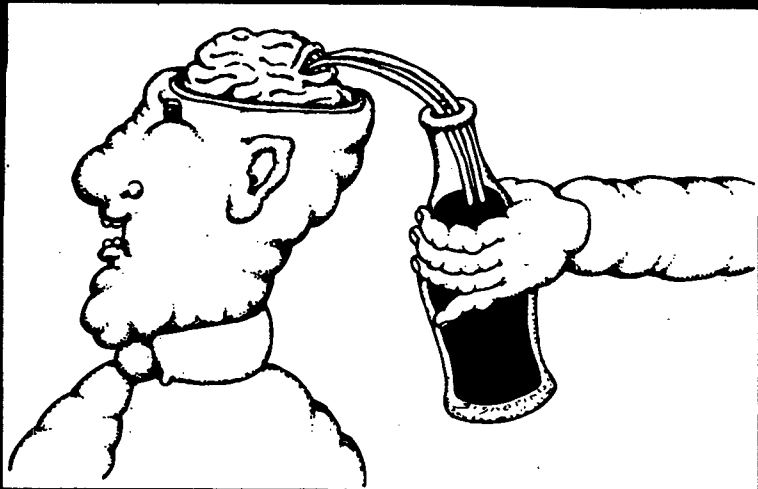
● *The Nation*, a national magazine with a small circulation, last year publicized the fact that a national natural gas "shortage" was created which achieved a 100 percent increase in prices for new gas between 1972 and 1974. It was done through company connections with government agencies; evasion by seven major companies in producing information subpoenaed by the Federal Trade Commission; ownership of gas stock by 19 key officials of the Federal Power Commission.

"Any man with ambition, integrity—and \$10,000,000—can start a daily newspaper," said Henry Morgan, but then he's a comedian, isn't he?





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## Criminal code revision

Continued from page 7.

a government purpose might be encompassed. This provision could be used to punish a Pentagon Papers-style unauthorized publication of governmental documents and could be a type of "official secrecy" law.

- Physical Interference. A section on "obstructing a government function by physical interference" could apply to any action that would impede the performance of a public official's function, as in the case of a mass demonstration that hindered government officials.

- Hindering Enforcement. A section on "hindering law enforcement" is written to include "concealing [the] identity" of a criminal, which could cover news gathering activities where criminal identities, even though privileged information, would be known to reporters.

- False Statements. A section on "making a false statement" would make oral as well as written false statements to law enforcement officials a crime, inviting "abuse by law enforcement officials"

and the "fabrication of charges," according to the ACLU.

- Not Obeying Orders. A section on "failing to obey a public safety order" could impede mass demonstrations for political purposes by empowering any federal official to issue a binding order to "disperse or refrain from a specified activity" if the official perceives a danger of injury to a person or to property.

- Extortion. "Extortion," as currently included in S-1437, also arouses opposition of labor unions as well as civil liberties groups because it appears to overrule past court decisions and include lawful labor picketing where property damage occurred.

Kennedy and McClellan appear to have the votes needed for Judiciary committee approval. But even if the bill is approved in Senate committee, full Senate approval is far from certain. And on the House side work is just beginning on the huge bill, with substantial opposition expected from members of the House Judiciary committee.

## French left

Continued from page 8.

ganization to speak of, could—and therefore probably would, lacking any other choice—look, like Portuguese prime minister Mario Soares, to allies abroad who could help their beleaguered government stave off disaster by such familiar stopgaps as credits from the International Monetary Fund. For many reasons, this would probably entail political attack on the PCF.

Such an attack would very likely find its grounds in the PCF's own limited options in the same situation, magnified by ideological prejudices.

While the Socialists can look up and out, the Communists must look in and down. The only place the PCF can turn for support is to its working class base. In his report, Marchais noted that the Socialist party belongs to an active International, whereas the PCF does not. This is a matter of fact, not of choice. It may be recalled that the PCF's belated break with Moscow was occasioned by the Soviet government's open preference for a conservative government in Paris. French Communists know that Moscow has robbed the "proletarian internationalism" of its meaning and that the PCF must now count on its own forces.

### The new philosophers.

Since the Communists broke off negotiations to update the Common Program, labor militants have asked the PCF: why not win the elections first, and mobilize the workers to put pressure on the Socialists afterwards?

The question is highly pertinent. Labor has been holding itself back for the happy day when it could deal with a left government. Why call now for a premature show of rank-and-file strength, seriously jeopardizing the electoral victory of the left which could provide a more promising context for such mobilizations?

The answer that comes to mind is that the PCF leadership fears the militancy of its own base, which it might be unable to control, if things got rough, and for which it would be blamed.

The PCF leadership faces the unappealing prospect of "taking the rap" for all the failures of a United Left government. It would be blamed for economic hardships. It would be blamed for the popular unrest such hardships might provoke. Finally, it would be blamed—supreme irony—for being power-mad and "statist" at the very moment when the state proved unable to achieve the left's promised goals.

A foretaste of the ideological onslaught it can look forward to has recently been provided by the public relations ballyhoo around what Grasset publishing house's young editor Bernard-Henri Levy has labeled the "new philosophers," a group of young essayists, some of them old school

chums of Levy, who have acquired rapid access to the media by pretending to prove, with various dogmatic word arrangements, that Marxism leads inevitably to the Gulag. Levy, who told *Time* magazine that the Communist party of Bologna was the "most totalitarian anywhere," has said he would vote for Mitterand, who almost took him on a couple of years ago as a literary collaborator. This sort of thing has fed Communist suspicions.

Thus Marchais stressed, in an Oct. 13 front page *Le Monde* article taken from his earlier report to the PCF central committee, that "statism, centralism, bureaucracy is *their* system"—the system of the capitalists in power. Addressing himself to the CFDT specifically, Marchais insisted that since its 22nd Congress, the PCF had set itself firmly on the course of democratization and decentralization of French society.

### Decentralization and PCF.

This stress on decentralization may be a clue to the PCF's efforts to build an alternative strategy of its own. It is no mystery that the Communist-led CGT could expect to win elections in factories. So although it is the Socialists who have talked most about "self-management," it is understandable that the PCF is beginning to take up the slogan. Worker control and regional decentralization can offer action prospects to the base and less vulnerable strongholds than the national state.

But if the PCF is searching for an alternative strategy, it is still limited by theoretical and organizational rigidity, as well as by the reaction of its own militants. Some of them will recall that the original function of the Common Program within the PCF was to meet rank-and-file complaints that the party leadership had put a brake on the mass movement in 1968. The Program was to provide any future mass movement with the clear goals it lacked in '68. This logic cannot easily be abandoned.

Mitterand is also championing decentralization. The PCF cannot expect to have that field to itself.

Under Communist attack, the PSF has at least temporarily closed ranks, in part because all Socialists, including the CERES minority leaders, are convinced that the Communists had decided at least as early as July to break off the negotiations and will not return until and unless they are persuaded by grassroots response.

Meanwhile, many labor militants are expressing disgust with politicians in general. Labor has largely been living on hopes aroused by the expected victory of the Union of the Left. As that prospect fades, there is a revival of the old anarcho-syndicalist impulse, as workers fall back on their unions and their own means of combat.



## LIFE IN THE U.S.



Ken Frestone

# Toward a new form of sex

By Eli Zaretsky

From a common sense point of view sex should be unambiguously satisfying. It costs nothing, is socially sanctioned and medically harmless. Unlike movies and plays, it can be enjoyed right in the home, with none of the discomfort of downtown buses or parking. Often it is an unparalleled expression of closeness and caring about another person.

One of the mysteries of life, gradually being disentangled, is why sex is also often such a source of anguish and despair. Why, in this most social of acts, do modern men and women so often encounter their own solitude and confusion?

A sexual revolution is now going on, but it does not lie in the area of increased freedom, premarital sex, nudity, pornography or the like. The real sexual revolution derives from the convergence of the women's movement and the scientific study of sex, especially the work of Masters and Johnson (*Human Sexual Response* and *Human Sexual Inadequacy*). Together they promise a new basis for sex: equality and open expression of feeling on the part of both men and women.

Let us restrict our discussion to heterosexual sex.

## Seduction model.

Bernard Apfelbaum of the Berkeley Sex Therapy Group describes the kind of sex considered normal and desirable in our culture until around 1970 as based on a "seduction model." The partners at first flattered one another, played up to each other's ego, and avoided all conflict.

Sex manuals of the '50s and '60s focused on the woman's "erogenous zones," which the man was supposed to manipulate, beginning with the most innocuous and ending at genital center.

The man's progress through her body was supposed to turn the woman on, until she was increasingly out of control. Hypnotic cues played an important role—soft lights, soft tones—the idea being to put the woman into a sort of mild trance. Any disturbance could ruin the act: a phone would ring or "hey, you're leaning on my hair," and it would all be over.

This kind of sex was highly ritualized. Both sexes were *watching* the man, attempting constantly to reassure him.

## The new sex therapies reject the "seduction model" of the past.

The sexual exchange was organized through a kind of parallelism—if your partner stroked you, you stroked back; if they kissed, you kissed.

The process was automatized and out of anyone's control. Once people started touching, they'd end up screwing—it was almost impossible to stop things any other way. The Hite Report, based on interviews with women across the country, highlights the extent to which sex in our culture has been organized around the man's climax. Apfelbaum suggests that while this reflects the general male social dominance in our culture, there also was no other way to stop intercourse once it had begun.

All this often had disastrous results. Masters and Johnson found that where there was sexual dysfunction, for example impotence or failure to reach orgasm, neither partner could lose themselves in the sexual act. The men were "spectators" at their own performance, while the women were in a state of constant distraction, unable to pay attention.

## Attacking the performance anxiety.

When Masters and Johnson began their work in the 1950s they had no way of knowing that everyone would be waiting for it in 1970 when *Human Sexual Inadequacy* was published.

They took a naturalistic, laboratory-based approach toward sex, which has often been accused of robbing it of its "mystery" and "romance." But in an area as steeped as sex in fear and guilt, in the agonies of birth and motherhood, in associations to blood and bodily anxiety, nothing could have been more liberating at first than to study it as digestion has been studied, or respiration, excretion, or any other bodily function.

Apfelbaum summarized Masters and Johnson's greatest discovery in this way: before them, marriage counselors and therapists thought that performance anxiety resulted from sexual dysfunction

(e.g., impotence, premature ejaculation, etc.). Masters and Johnson showed that sexual dysfunctioning resulted from performance anxiety.

They did this by working out a technique for countering sexual ritualization and the pressure to perform. Their technique is one of enforced passivity. The partners learn a new way of making love that begins with their taking turns at stroking each other, touching and the like.

The concept of erogenous zones was abandoned, along with the concept of foreplay. Intercourse, and even genital stimulation, was forbidden to the couples at the beginning of their treatment in order to break down the goal-orientation of tradition intercourse.

What these techniques did was to break apart this apparently indissoluble unity—the couple and its self-perpetuating mechanism of problem and reassurance (a pattern that can be seen out of the sexual sphere as well)—in order to find the two people, with differing needs, who perhaps would then come back together again on a new basis.

## Cutting fantasies.

Sex therapy, as it has developed since Masters and Johnson, involves preventing people from getting caught up in the frenzy that used to be thought the equivalent of sex itself. At least part of that frenzy was generated by a stream of fantasies—fantasies of being big, strong or beautiful, for example, or fantasies of being ugly or abandoned. Such fantasies compensate for people's anxieties and dissatisfactions in the sexual act.

By cutting down on these fantasies—through forcing the partners to talk about their experience, or even through having sex by day rather than at night—sex therapy forces the anxieties and dissatisfactions to the surface, where they can be dealt with.

The emphasis is on communication between the partners, especially the com-

munication of difficult and painful experiences: "I do not feel turned on," "I feel hopeless about ever turning you on," "Right now my mind is a blank," "It feels like you're trying too hard," "It feels like you're being too careful." (These are sample script lines from the Sex Therapy Group).

The process of getting people to state feelings they believe to be countersexual has a hidden agenda; it helps them stay in touch with their feelings and thereby lays a basis for authentic sexual response, if any such be in order.

Eliminating the pressure to feel "turned on" can itself be a turn on. As Claudio Naranjo wrote, "People have to be free from sex in order to be free in sex."

## Changing the relationship.

What makes all of this meaningful, and not merely empty technique, is the contemporary revolution in the relations between men and women. What can occur in sex therapy is the overthrow of the master-slave relationship—a relationship that had enslaved the master as well as the slave.

Many contemporary forms of sex therapy do not understand this, and persist in advocating sex through surrogates, pornography, vibrators, and so forth, without focusing on the male-female relationship itself.

The historic significance of these changes in our sexual life can best be understood through the socialist idea of the importance of production—human labor—in organizing society. As the women's movement has made clear, this includes reproduction as well. Our sexual lives, like everything else about us, has been shaped by the social pressures to work. In particular, the sexual feelings of men and women have been channelled into their reproductive organs—their penises and vaginas—because sexuality has been subordinated to childrearing and to the reproduction of the species.

The separation of sexuality and reproduction is the precondition for pleasurable and free sex. The women's movement and certain branches of modern sex therapy advance this goal by breaking down the organization of sex around the genitals and around men.

Try it, you'll like it.



# Wit' a Brooklyn Accent

By Mark Naison

Each fall I get more disenchanted with football. Although I've played the game since I was five years old and have seen every NFL championship since the epic Giants-Colts sudden death game in the mid-'50s, I find it harder and harder to watch a pro-football game for more than 20 minutes at a time.

A good college game can still excite me, but most pro-games, even the "Super Bowl," fail to hold my interest. The offenses and defenses are mechanical and unimaginative, the players lack enthusiasm, and the "hitting," so carefully dramatized for us on instant replay, fails to evoke the waves of sympathetic aggression that it did when I was younger.

My growing awareness of the price the game extracts from those who play it has also eroded my enthusiasm for the sport. Almost every person I know who played varsity football in both high school and college is partially crippled as a result—usually from multiple knee operations—and has difficulty jogging long distances or playing basketball or tennis regularly at a heavy pace.

For professionals, the consequences are even more gruesome. A Canadian physician recently estimated that the life expectancy for a professional football player is 58 years, 12 less than for the average American male.

The game also mirrors class divisions in American society in a manner that makes me uneasy. The overwhelming majority of professional football players come from working class or impoverished families, while the bulk of the stadium audience consists of wealthier sorts. We can expect this contrast to become even more pronounced in the future, as people from comfortable families push their children into non-contact sports like soccer and tennis, and as ticket prices climb even farther beyond the reach of the working class family.

Given all this, what position should sports activists take regarding football? The game is so deeply rooted in the fabric of American culture and community life that to eliminate it would arouse great resistance. The performance of local football teams, past and present is a part of the folklore of many a working class neighborhood, and high school football is an important source of entertainment and community solidarity in small cities and towns.

But the game can be changed in ways that minimize damage to those who play it. Elimination of tackling and blocking below the waist or above the neck, sharp penalties for excessive roughness, prohibition of "spearing" (tackling a person with the helmet directly on the numbers) would help change the game in a manner that places a premium on agility rather

than violence and intimidation, while preserving the elements of strategy and team coordination.

NFL and college commissioners have taken some tentative steps in this direction by banning the head slap and the crack back block, but they need to feel more pressure to change the game from players' associations, fans, and concerned parents and citizens.

Sports activists, if they raise these issues without condemning the game itself, may find broad support for such reforms from a public that is increasingly concerned with questions of health and fitness.

\* \* \* \* \*

A new organization has just been formed to protect the rights of the nation's sports consumers. It's called FANS (Fight to Advance the Nation's Sports) and it will concern itself with issues ranging from the high price of tickets to the lack of fan input into the formulation of rules and the operation of teams. The group was begun with a small grant from the Ralph Nader organization and will try to function as an activist body on both the local and national levels.

FANS will be a membership organization, controlled and financed by those who join it. Dues are \$9 per year—the price of a pro football ticket. People wishing to join or obtain more information should write to FANS, P.O. Box 19312, Washington, DC 20036.

\* \* \* \* \*

I must admit an error in consistently underestimating the Yankees. I've allowed my hatred of George Steinbrenner and the Yankee organization for their financial dealings and their contempt for the South Bronx community to affect my evaluation of the Yankee players. The results are in for all to see. Sorry folks.

\* \* \* \* \*

The IN THESE TIMES sports page is committed, as a matter of policy, to achieving an equal balance in coverage of men's and women's sports. The articles we have printed on women's sports have been high in quality, but too few in number.

We need your help to expand the dimensions of our reporting. We are actively seeking articles on women's experiences in organized sports, on the enforcement (or lack of such) of Title IX, on the problems women face as gym teachers and coaches, on the experiences of people playing team sports in sexually mixed groups, and on the way children are socialized to assume "male" and "female" roles in sports and games. People who would like to write on these subjects should get in touch with me care of the paper.

## LIFE ON THE RUN

By Bill Bradley  
Quadrangle, New York.

Bill Bradley is, or should I say was, a disciplined and supremely intelligent basketball player. He may have lacked grace, speed and strength, but he knew how to shoot off a Willis Reed screen, move without the ball and play aggressive defense.

Bradley's prose has the same strengths and limits as his court play—it's plain, solid, consistently intelligent and never dazzling.

*Life on the Run* is a book about Bill Bradley, basketball player. Bradley provides few revelations about his Missouri and Princeton past or about his personal life. His capsule analyses of his longtime teammates—DeBusschere, Reed, Frazier and Co.—are predictable and protective. Reed is viewed as "startlingly elemental" and DeBusschere "never pretends to be anything but what he is."

Bradley also never tries to entertain the reader with comic anecdotes or play-by-play description. In fact, the book has little narrative; its frame is a few weeks late in the 1973-74 season.

The book's strength and genuine originality lies in Bradley's skill and perceptiveness at unsentimentally evoking and analyzing the consciousness of an athlete. In this case an aging one who has the kind of special sensibility that perceives that "everyday is a struggle to stay in touch

with life's subtleties."

Bradley has clearly won that struggle and he writes with nuance of the loneliness and obsessiveness of being a ball player. Bradley is an ascetic and artist who loves the game. "It's my private world. No one else can sense the inexorable rightness of the moment... And a feeling that everything is in perfect balance."

Ballplaying for Bradley is like playing the trumpet—a game where there is room for both an independent imagination and the collective graces of teamwork.

Team play is what distinguished the Knick championship teams of the early '70s, and Bradley is a fervent supporter of the concept: "What is important is my own judgment as to whether the team plays according to my own estimation of how an ideal team should." Bradley's repeated refrain is that a team needs a sense of cooperation and community, which makes him an admirer of teammate Bill Russell rather than the egoistic Wilt Chamberlain.

The existential commitment of the ballplayer, however, is Bradley's primary passion. There is a sober eloquence in his description of the terror a ballplayer feels when he cannot recapture those "few years of intensified youth," the sense of desolation that the ballplayer feels when he must live without the game.

—Leonard Quart

Leonard Quart is a New York freelance writer.

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## ESSAYS ON MARX'S THEORY OF VALUE

Isaak Illich Rubin

Translated by Milos Samardzija and Fredy Perlman

\$ 3.95 paper  
\$10.95 cloth (Black Rose)

According to the prevailing theories of economists, economics has replaced political economy, and economics deals with scarcity, prices, and resource allocation.

If economics is indeed merely a new name for political economy, and if the subject matter which was once covered under the heading of political economy is now covered by economics, then economics has replaced political economy. However, if the subject matter of political economy is not the same as that of economics, then the "replacement" of political economy is actually an omission of a field of knowledge. If economics answers different questions from those raised by political economy, and if the omitted questions refer to the form and the quality of human life within the dominant social-economic system, then this omission can be called a "great evasion".

Economic theorist and historian I. I. Rubin suggested a definition of political economy which has nothing in common with the prevailing theory mentioned above. According to Rubin, "Political economy deals with human working activity, not from the standpoint of its technical methods and instruments of labor, but from the standpoint of its social form. It deals with *production relations* which are established among people in the process of production." In terms of this definition, political economy is not the study of prices or of scarce resources; it is a study of social relations, a study of culture.

Rubin's book was first published in the Soviet Union, and was never re-issued after 1928. This is the first and only English edition.

1975 / 275 pp  
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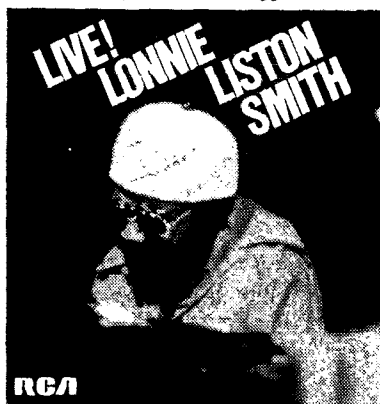


## ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

## Records



Reviews by Carlo Wolff

**LIVE! LONNIE LISTON SMITH**

Lonnie Liston Smith, (RCA)

Fusion music at its best, this album was recorded at Smucker's Cabaret, Brooklyn, in May. It bristles with energy, swirling through all kinds of tempos, never letting up in idea or execution.

Fueled by the rock drive of drummer Hollywood Barker, percussionist Michael Carvin and bassist Al Anderson, keyboardist Smith offers more than 40 minutes of steaming jazz-rock.

Even Leon Thomas, that gifted vocalist who used to help soften Pharaoh Sanders' hard jazz albums, sounds in step here, lyricizing over Smith, Ronald D. Miller (guitar), Dave Hubbard (saxes) and Donald Smith (flute and vocals).

Smith is a sound painter, a master of texture who can shift effortlessly from the slow, dreamy "Prelude" to the furious, complex overdrive of "Expansions."

Thomas sings in a high tenor, soaring on Smith's lovely ballad, "My Love," aided by a percussion kaleidoscope and Smith's lean comping.

Smith's music is in direct line with the fertile field staked out

by John Coltrane on such albums as "A Love Supreme" and "Meditations," but Coltrane worked in an acoustic mode while Smith makes no bones about his electric setting.

But this is true fusion music: It mixes rock rhythm with jazz lines, acoustic and electric (dig the breathless "Watercolors" and "Sunset"), hard and soft.

Smucker's patrons were privileged those nights in late May.

Musically, this is an incredibly fertile time. But fertility can lead to glut, and much fusion music, diluted by disco beat and meaningless vocalizing, is garbage. But this is truly fertile, timeless.

Running the gamut of mood and technique, Smith and his cohorts have crafted one of the best albums of the year.

**LIVE AT THE OLD QUARTER, Houston, Texas**  
Townes Van Zandt, (Tomato)

One of the best American singer/songwriters is back in circulation with a double album taped in July 1973.

Van Zandt recorded six albums for the defunct Poppy label around the turn of the decade. Those albums, now difficult to get, are marked by brilliant lyrics, a cosmic country feeling, and a peculiarly sophisticated tenderness.

Maybe Emmy Lou Harris' recording Van Zandt's great "Pancho and Lefty" on Skyliner earlier this year has started the Van Zandt ball rolling again. This live collection, recorded in a small bar, can only whet the listener's appetite. The songs range from novelty ("Fraternity Blues") to deeply touching ("Tower Song")

to terrifying ("Lungs," a strong vision of death).

Van Zandt is a sardonic artist, given to understatement.

But that pithiness and tenderness serve to free his humor and compassion, as in "To Love Is to Fly," a sad, poignant tune about moving on.

There's more than an hour and a half of Van Zandt music here, Townes and his acoustic guitar playing timeless tunes. No flash, no rock pizzazz: Just unassuming, moving music from a man who's labored underground too long.

Welcome Van Zandt into your home. Although you may never have heard him, he won't be a stranger.

**THE ROOTS OF ROCK 'N' ROLL**  
Savoy/Arista

A labor of love and a marvelous historical work, this double album chronicles the rise of rock—from the black side.

It showcases 32 brief tunes, the earliest from 1947 (when swing was turning into bebop), the latest from 1956 (when rockabilly, a white music, was beginning to represent the fusion of rhythm and blues with country.)

This is "race" music—a genre that was pitched to and marketed for blacks. Nowadays there's no such thing as "race" music—everything's crossover, or rock.

But just after World War II, "race" music (for the most part produced and marketed by whites, though performed by blacks) attempted to fuse the elements of jazz—horn riffs, rhythmic piano, improvisatory swing—into a primarily vocal expression. As the first tune on this collection says, "We're Gonna Rock, We're Gonna Roll."

And they did. If nothing else, this collection shows the ongoing vitality of such elements of current music as a melodic, wailing horn section, a call-and-response gospel pattern in the vocals, a cappella/doo-wop singing and a dance thrust.

This compendium of Rock roots could be taken as a period piece, a curio. But it's much more than that: At its best, it presents a unique blend of naivete and knowledge that runs very deep. It rings much truer than the music of today, often characterized by macho aggressiveness hiding behind glossy technique.

The music, in the original mono, is raw. Luther Bond and his Emeralds ("It's Written in the Stars") veer on the out-of-tune. And "You're Down with Me," an early Huey "Piano" Smith tune, includes a fade that doesn't sound planned.

But all the selections have power. Check Mickey Baker's rock guitar break on "Rib Joint" by the Sam Price Band, from 1956. Or 13-year-old Little Esther's singing on Johnny Otis' bluesy "Misery." (Little Esther is now known as Esther Phillips.)

There's Big Maybelle's nonpareil bluesy gasp/scream on "Candy," and the wild sax and trumpet on Paul Williams' "The Hucklebuck" of 1948. These "roots" are accessible to everybody. They've stood the test of time. *Reviews by Carlo Wolff*

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Ed Sadlowski

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On the scene report from strike-torn Elmwood, Ill., by David Moberg, welfare reformers gather in Washing-

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## POETRY

# Prisoner-poets in the hole at Folsom

Two prisoner-poets have begun their ninth month in the hole at California's Folsom prison. Pancho Aguila and Jerry Pena have been locked down 23½ hours a day ever since the inmate-run Creative Writers' Workshop was shut down last January.

The workshop had met weekly for 14 years. Writers from the outside community came to exchange ideas and poems on Thursday afternoons under the shadow of the gun-towers. Small press publishers made their presses available, and five workshop anthologies were put out. Max Schwartz's "Prison Poetry" shows on radio KPFA reached a big late-night audience. A bridge of words connected the lost society of the prison with the world outside.

"Poetry is such a quick teacher," says workshop-member Gordon Kirkwood-Yates. "Such an avenue-opener to the formally untutored. It deals in subtleties and shades and double entendre and... bridges quickly the gap between raw emotion and articulate thought."

The workshop gave its members a sense of "entitlement to walk the face of the planet." And, paroled, they stayed clean. Only two of the 18 paroled workshop members have returned to the state prison system, as against an average rate of over 60 percent.

"When we would leave that workshop and come back into the yard," says inmate-poet Clyde Salazar, "we didn't want to hear any of that madness, didn't want to see any of that madness. We would walk out of those meetings with our spirits and minds on a far higher level. They were refreshing springs from which to drink each week."

Pancho Aguila's story will have to stand for many others. His mother brought him from Nicaragua to San Francisco at age two to escape Somoza's terror. His poems remember the streets of the Mission "popping caps at rumors/ lowriding/ in roaring mufflers;" remember the Haight summer he began writing: "a past flower festival/ a watermelon/ Whose seeds people bury/ In a bag of favorite things."

## THE SPIRIT OF REVOLUTION

*Bury the rotten fruits  
stuffing our eyes and ears.  
Vomit the spoiled grain  
encrusting our throats.*

*Away with the meat butchers  
afraid of the next meal.*

*Bring out the silverware,  
the gold and pearl,  
the wine and honey...  
it is time*

*for laughter and change.*

*The bulwark of establishment,  
the pregnant woman,  
the gorged capricorn  
are breaking the seams  
of fragile thread.*

*It is time for birth...*

—Pancho Aguila  
(from Anti-Gravity)

The late '60s led him into the antiwar movement, the abortive creation of a multinational liberation front, and into violent action. In February 1969, he robbed a Loomis truck. A guard, Louis Dake, was shot dead. Aguila was sentenced to natural life in prison.

When Pancho Aguila was elected chairman of the workshop in June 1975, prison authorities feared a turn to the left. "There's a lot of revolutionary writing coming out of that workshop," warden Bob Thomas told me, "and we intend to put a stop to it."

The end came this January 27. Visiting poet Michael Wojczuk was accused of depositing a tea bag with "traces of" marijuana in it in the gate guard's ashtray. The workshop was "suspended," later cancelled.

The next day, Pancho Aguila was taken from his cell-bed in the prison hospital, where he had been diagnosed as suffering from hepatitis, and placed in the hole on charges of attempting to escape. Workshop member Jerry Pena was locked down on contraband charges two days later.

Nine months later, after widespread protest from the poetry community, the situation remains the same. The workshop is dead. Pancho and Jerry are in the hole indefinitely.

"There's no way this prison can stop me from writing," says Jerry Pena, "for writing is an expression of the will; the will cannot be harmed."

Pancho Aguila writes from the hole, "A belief that death is imminent makes one even more vigilant, therefore more concentrated to the moment and work at hand... Poetry serves as my meditation—What a wonderful friend this dark/light/passion/beauty/force!"

What's to be done?

Gov. Jerry Brown, his mind on more cosmic matters, has never made a statement about the workshop. The Department of Corrections stonewalls. Friends of the workshop plan legal action, but recent Supreme Court decisions on prisoners' rights are not encouraging.

This winter, Aldebaran Review, a small press in Berkeley, will publish a definitive anthology/documentary, *The Caged Collective*, "to show what happened in Folsom and can happen elsewhere."

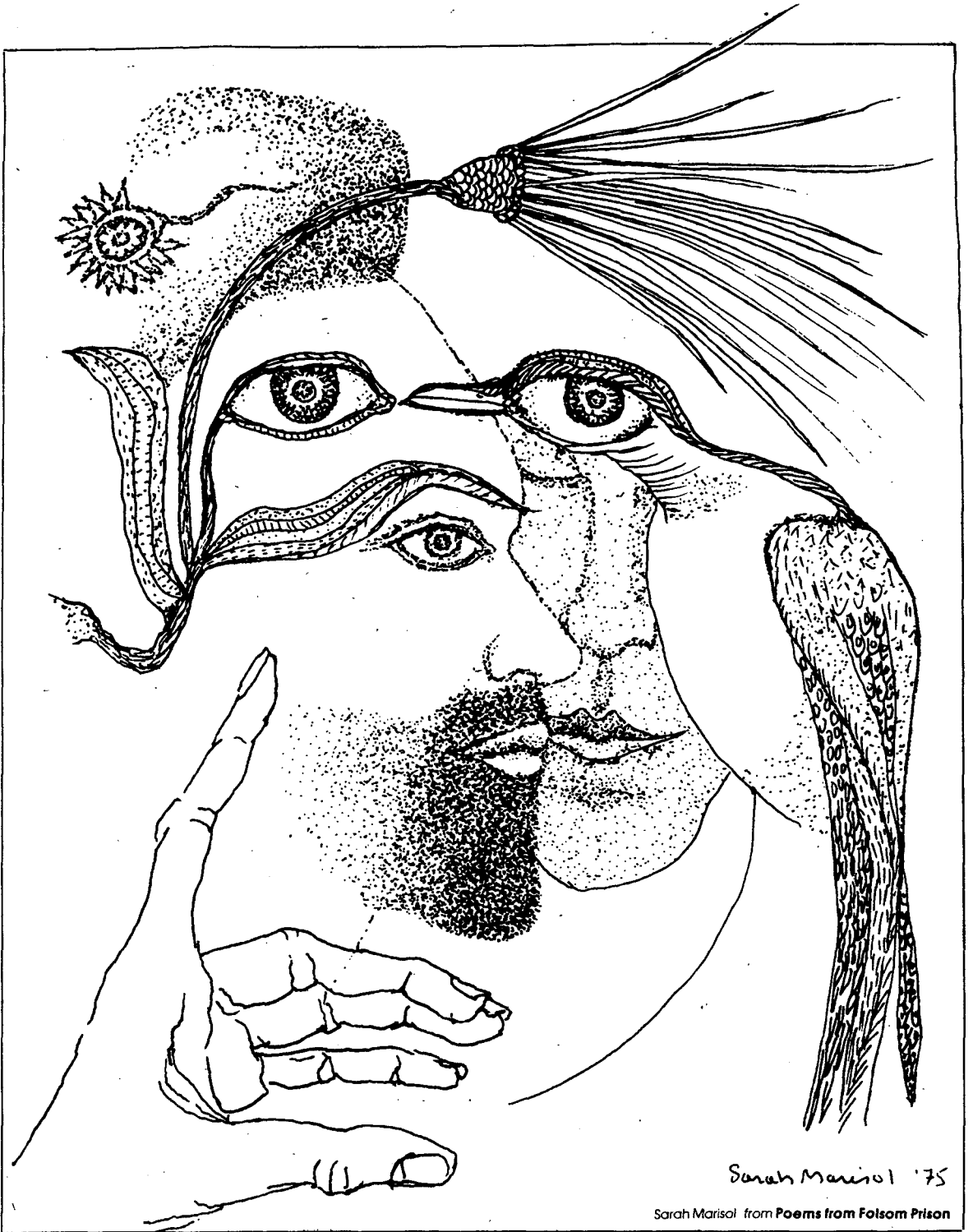
—John Oliver Simon

John Oliver Simon is a poet, a teacher, and editor of the *Aldebaran Review*.

Donations to legal defense of Folsom Creative Writers' Workshop can be mailed to **REPRESSSSSSA, Box 31223, San Francisco, CA 94131.**

Pre-publication copies of *The Caged Collective* can be reserved for \$2 each from Aldebaran Review, 2209 California St., Berkeley CA 94703.

Letters of direct support are most welcome to: Pancho Aguila, B-22814-A; Jerry Pena, B-19124-A; and Gordon Kirkwood-Yates, B-38901; Represa, CA 95671.



Sarah Marisol from *Poems from Folsom Prison*

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## FILM

# Prisoner-playwright adapts play for film

## SHORT EYES

Screenplay by Miguel Pinero  
Directed by Robert M. Young  
Music by Curtis Mayfield

Some of the most powerful American writing of the last two decades has been done in prison by people who had no previous writing experience and not much previous education—at least of the formal sort.

Letters from prison have become a literary genre (cf. *Through the Walls*; *Prison Correspondence*, reviewed in *ITT*, July 6). Eldridge Cleaver and George Jackson achieved the status of revolutionary leaders through their mastery of the form. Edward Bunker is only the latest of a series of novelists to write out of the experience of incarceration (cf. accompanying review). Poets are turning up in maximum security facilities from one coast to the other.

But so far as I know, Miguel Pinero is the first to produce a full dramatic work while serving time. His *Short Eyes* was a solid hit on the New York stage, first off and later on Broadway. Now it is a film, and one of the year's best.

Pinero began writing poetry in Sing-Sing after a youth spent in New York's Puerto Rican ghettos and jails. It was, he discovered, not only a way to express his own feeling, but also to win "reverence" from fellow-prisoners who needed someone to express theirs.

An actor-director, Marvin Felix Camillo, began a theatre workshop among the inmates, and Pinero decided to try a play. *Short Eyes* was 90 percent finished when he was paroled in 1973. Back in New York City, he took the script to the Family, a theater group of former convicts and addicts, housed in Riverside Church. There it was staged with a cast, most of whom knew the "society within society" with which the play deals, as well as the playwright.

Reviews caught the attention of Joseph Papp, who brought the play—without substantial change—to the Public Theatre on Lafayette Street. It was so successful there that Papp eventually moved it to Lincoln Center, where it earned two Obies and the New York Drama Critics' Circle Award for 1973-74.

Pinero did his own screen adaptation, and many of the original cast play their old roles, including Pinero himself. Director Robert M. Young (whose credits include many prize-winning documentaries, the full-length feature, *Nothing But a Man*, and the recently aired *Alambrista* for PBS' "Visions") has added an element of spatial compression that is completely authentic and overpoweringly dramatic.

Young arranged to have the film shot entirely inside New York's aging prison, the Tombs. The camera moves within the same constricted limits as the men. No concessions in speech or pacing are made for the benefit of the viewer. Sometimes—particularly at the start—characters come on, or are knocked off too rapidly for recognition. Their speech is too fast and too colloquial for uninitiated ears. And the sound has the unintelligibility of unedited tapes.

At times it takes effort to sort it all out. But the story is so strong



Above: Tito Goya as Cupcakes, Jose Perez as Juan, Don Blakely as El Raheem. Right: Curtis Mayfield as Pappy.

that most of the audience makes the effort. And even when a point is lost, it does not loosen the grip of the whole.

One of the reasons for this is the overall excellence of the acting. This is "ensemble acting" of a calibre rarely seen in films because film casts don't play together long enough to learn the techniques. There are also outstanding performances: Jose Perez as Juan; Shawn Elliott as Paco; Tito Goya as Cupcakes; Joe Carberry as Longshoe Murphy; and Bruce Davison as Short Eyes.

Curtis Mayfield has a flashy bit that gives him a chance to do his thing musically. To some critics this scene is an unacceptable detour from the film's main thrust, but it delights Mayfield fans in the audience and provides the equivalent of "comic relief" in what might otherwise be overex-

tended dramatic tension.

On this point, the actors (who seem to spend a lot of their leisure time watching the film run in different kinds of neighborhood houses) report that "street people get a big charge out of it, but they laugh in places where you wouldn't expect." Perez and Elliott analyzed this reaction for *IN THESE TIMES* as the "shock of seeing their own lives up there on the screen for the first time. It's not like for white middle-class audiences. They're used to seeing themselves. It's no big deal. But street people can't believe it at first. So they laugh. But they really dig it."

The film's success in neighborhood houses in New York and Los Angeles seems to bear that out.

Whether middle-class white America can take *Short Eyes* is



still an unanswered question. It is not "entertainment" in the ordinary sense. There is, of course, plenty of violence and unorthodox sex—both elements dutifully exploited in newspaper advertising. But *Short Eyes* lifts the lid off a reality that straight society has

done everything possible to shut away. Worse, it involves the audience in the "experience" of the outcasts, which is much more disturbing than what an investigative reporter has to tell you on "Segment 3" or "60 Minutes."

—Janet Stevenson

## BOOKS

## Prisoner-novelist publishes second book

## THE ANIMAL FACTORY

By Edward Bunker  
Viking Press, \$8.95

The naturalistic novel that exposes social ills has traditionally been written from the outside looking in. Zola never mined coal, Frank Norris never farmed wheat, Dreiser never worked in the basement of a shirt collar factory—But each knew how to turn research into great and moving fiction.

The novels of Richard Wright may be the turning point in (and the turning inside out of) American naturalistic narrative. He never had to pretend he was black in order to expose the institution of racism.

Edward Bunker, one of a handful of contemporary novelists whose subject is prison life, stands

in this larger group of authentic narrators who have lived the problems whereof they speak. Like his older pioneering colleague (and fellow San Quentin graduate) Malcolm Braly, Bunker has written his way to freedom by perfecting a clear, lucid naturalistic style that will jolt any reader who dares to lock himself up with his pages.

*The Animal Factory*, his second novel, opens with what seems by now an obligatory initial scene: the mustering of the prisoners out of a county jail for sentencing and distribution to the various state penitentiaries.

Bunker focuses on a young drug pusher, Ronald Decker, who believes that if there are buyers in the world, there must be sellers free to service them. This singles him out as an ideal figure

(in fictional terms) for developing a double critique of what Braly has called a "free world" (non-prison) society and the curious parody of it that exists behind prison walls.

San Quentin becomes Decker's new homeland, a place where the only solace from the unrelenting torture of confinement is the friendship of a seasoned convict named Earl Copen. Copen saves Decker's life and honor, introduces him, out of a mixture of comradely companionship and masculine affection, to the world of the notorious White Brotherhood.

Over the years, Decker discovers truths about himself and the American prison system. In his words, San Quentin is an "animal factory," creating so many

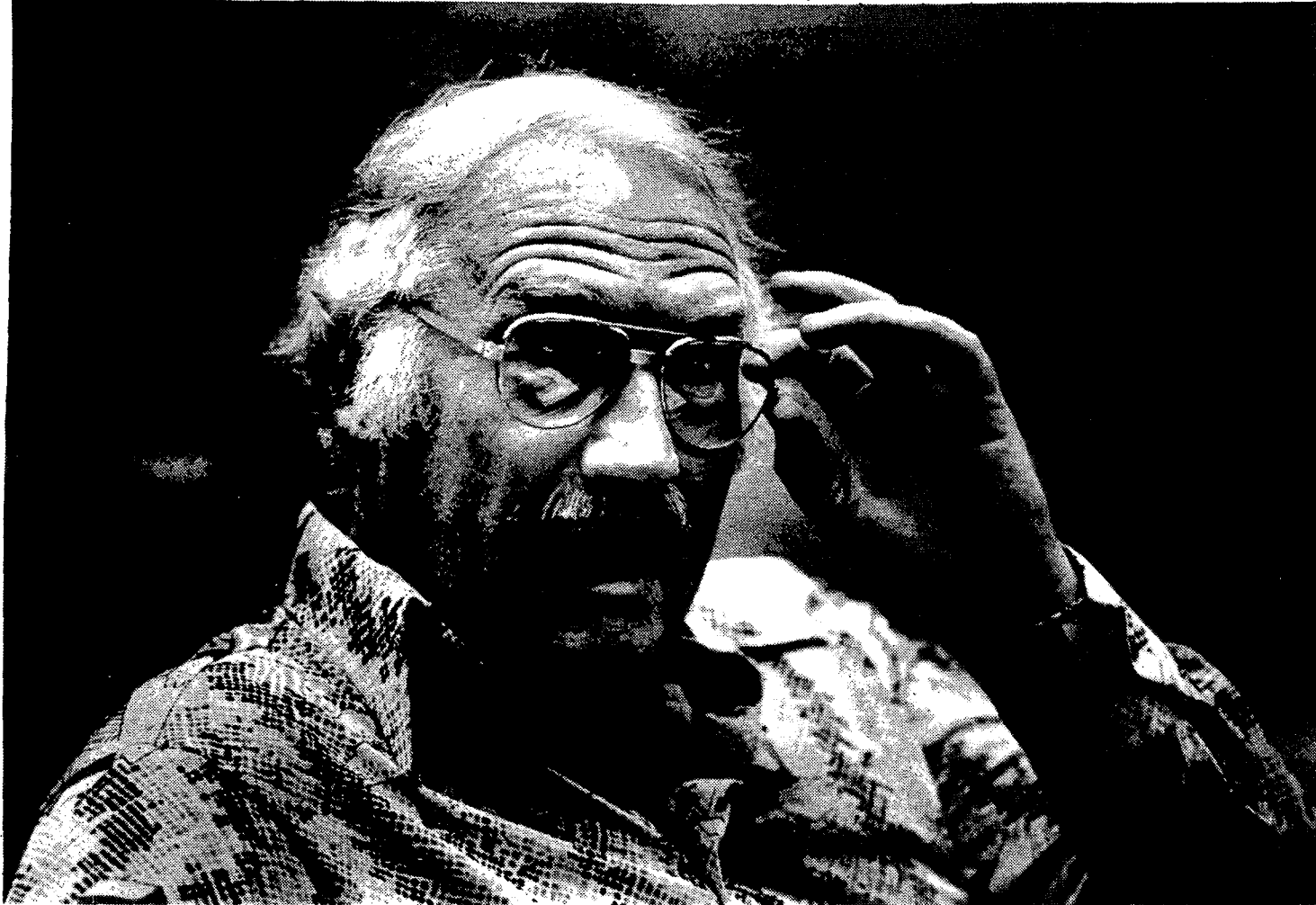
habitual criminals (and corpses, the result of grudges fought within a primitive macho honor code and frequent "race wars") that the possibility of rehabilitation seems as remote as immortality.

Less remote is the possibility of the reader's sympathetic understanding of the daily prison grind, the vices and virtues of the guards and sub-wardens, and the conditions which can turn average men into racists, murderers, drug addicts and sexual grotesques. Bunker's lean, finely filed prose creates a terse but compelling atmosphere in which the main actors raise all the questions the reader should ask about our country's penal system.

—Alan Cheuse

Alan Cheuse reviews fiction regularly for *IN THESE TIMES*.

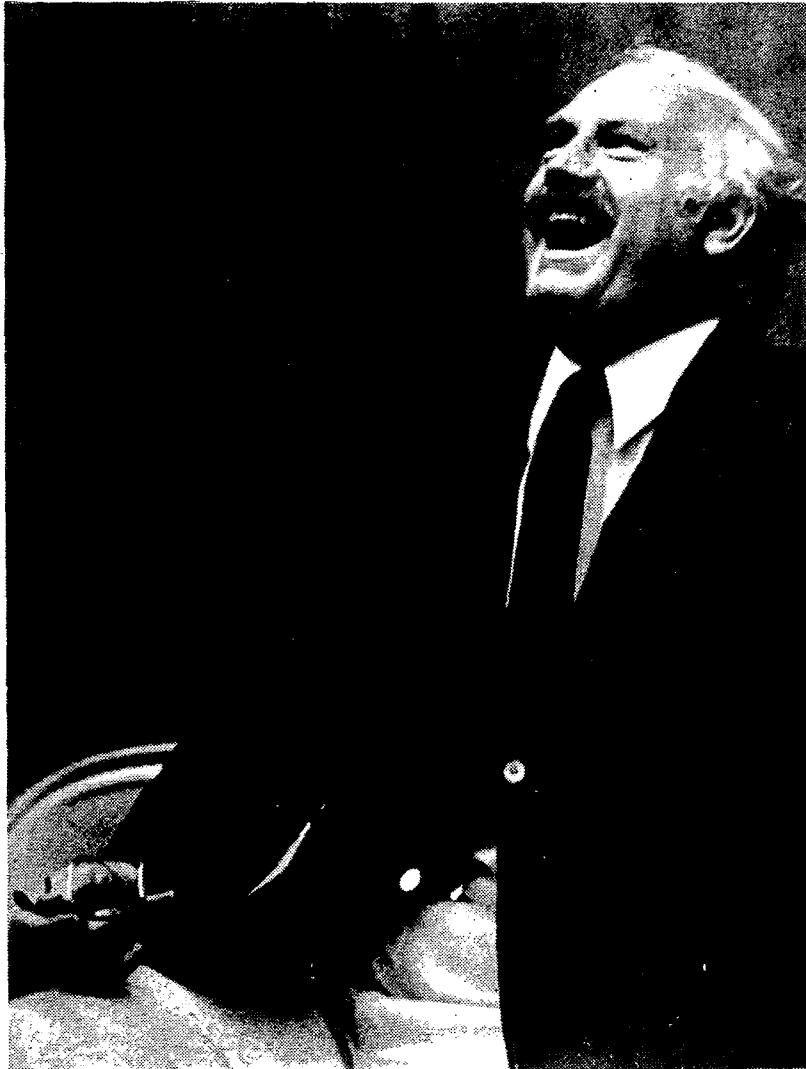




Robert Hart

# Devil Defies Denton Drys

Brother Joe Hewitt.



Robert Hart

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Jim Mahoney

**By Roy Appleton III**  
DENTON, TEX.—A number of Texas cities have been voting in local option elections to allow legal sales of alcohol, but when Denton decided in 1976 to let in a flood of beer and wine after a 74-year drought—well, that really shook up the good folk who actively opposed such “decadence.” Denton is the “Top of the Golden Triangle,” the land where Misses America are bred. It simply couldn’t be allowed to happen in Denton.

So the temperance troops regrouped and prepared an all-out attack to recapture the lost territory. They won a state court challenge that invalidated the 1976 election results on a technicality. (The word “legal” was left off 800 absentee ballots, so some people voted for “sale of beer and wine,” instead of “legal sale.”)

They next managed to have a new election scheduled for Aug. 6, a time when many of the city’s 25,000 college students would still be out of town on vacation.

And best of all, they pooled their funds to bring in a ringer—Brother Joe Hewitt.

Joe Hewitt, 45, a former advertising salesman and newspaper reporter, travels about the state leading “good Christian people” against the “liquor industry and booze merchants.”

Brother Joe, who bears an astonishing resemblance to Bob Keeshan, TV’s Captain Kangaroo, came into the Denton contest with an impressive 7-1 record. Although he lost a vote in Orange, Hewitt helped advance the cause of righteousness in Jacksonville, Tyler, Killeen, Rockwall, Lewisville and Dilley.

Last year Hewitt left the pastorate of a small, nearly bankrupt Baptist church in Richardson to become a full-time liquor election consultant. (“It’s my ministry.”)

Temperance hustling doesn’t seem to be a bad job. For the Denton campaign congregations around the city shelled out a reported \$5,460 for Hewitt’s services and another \$2,709 (for posters, etc.) to the Texas Alcohol Narcotic Education organization with which he has been affiliated.

The money doesn’t matter to Brother Joe, though. He says his “basic motivation [is] that drinking and selling alcohol is wrong.... Reducing alcohol problems is my Christian duty.”

But the election was almost enough to drive a man to drink. The pro-alcohol faction, according to some opponents, was composed of hedonistic leftwingers funded by the liquor industry and directed by the devil himself. If so, Satan instructed his minions to run an understated campaign stressing the common sense of keeping Denton drinkers’ money out of Lake Dallas, Lincoln Park, and other nearby watering holes.

The quiet bunch of wets couldn’t match the style and elan of Brother Joe’s prohibitionists, the “Concerned Citizens of Denton,” who claimed as members most of the town’s clergy and many of their flock.

“If these people can take over in one

night, they can take your city...this is the way the devil works,” said Reverend Boyce Brannan, a leader of Concerned Citizens. “Oh, I hate liquor. I hate what it does.”

Hewitt set out to rid the city of Lucifer in liquid form. First, a wave of ads with a heady mixture of statistics and flim-flam warned of the “violent thugs” who advocated strong drink. “The peace and safety of our community is at stake,” read one ad. Another cautioned, “If you get into trouble by following beer sellers, they won’t come to your aid. You’ll be on your own.”

Other bits of information came to the voters in less orthodox ways. For example, a letter was “mistakenly” sent to North Texas State students incorrectly advising them that they could be dismissed from school or prosecuted if the addresses on their voter registration forms did not match the addresses on their school applications. Students who had come from other cities had better not try to vote in Denton.

And somebody circulated the story that Texas Women’s University would be forced by its charter to move from a city which tolerated the sale of alcohol.

In short, legal beer and wine retailing would destroy decent life in the city. According to the Rev. Leonard Morris of Denton’s Maranatha Baptist Church, people who vote wet would “put themselves under the curse of God.”

After the roll was called up in Denton the anti-booze group drew only 3,810 votes against the 7,266 Dentonites who, oblivious to the risk of damnation, voted in favor of legal beer and wine sales. The liquorites had clearly snatched victory from the thirsty jaws of defeat.

A majority of the dry activists seem to accept this outcome as proof that the citizenry is determined to buy booze. They have graciously pledged to “heal the ill will of the past local elections...to strive for the well-being of Denton citizens.”

Others opposed to liquor are awaiting the outcome of complicated legal challenges. Voters said “no” to the drys, but that doesn’t mean Denton is wet. Because the first election was declared void, drinkers either will have to stage another balloting (this one with all the fine print in order), or persuade a court to reinstate the original pro-booze vote.

Wets have already asked the court to reconsider the nullification, and while they wait for a hearing, they’re trying to convince the drys to give up. Some appear willing to call it a day, but militants like Rev. Morris vow to continue the battle, in court or out. After last month’s vote he talked “two boys who love the Lord” into erecting a billboard announcing Denton as “Sin City.” The sign stayed up four days.

“That sign is the hate I have for the devil,” explains the preacher. “I hate the devil and what he’s doing to our city. I’m not going to stand back and let that rascal do here what he’s doing to New York City.”

Analyzing the electorate, Rev. Morris adds, “If a man is a genuine Christian, he would never vote for an intoxicating drink...I believe if a man is saved and a true Christian, he won’t drink and get drunk and commit murder and rape.”

Whatever the future holds for temperance in Denton, it won’t include Brother Joe Hewitt. He’s pocketed his money, packed up and pulled out. He probably won’t be back, and not just because he has a contract for another local-option battle. Some Denton ministers have hinted that they didn’t care for Hewitt’s style of unfriendly persuasion, and they liked even less his becoming an issue in the campaign. It was bad for business.

Fact is, Brother Joe is suddenly so wary of notoriety that he won’t even say where he is heading. He probably doesn’t want to spend another election night in a silent church sipping Hawaiian Punch and staring at folks who just may be wondering why they shelled out better than two bucks a vote to lose an election. All the legal rigmarole surrounding the summer’s wet/dry contest has cost Denton taxpayers at least \$67,283.

So long, Brother Joe...and God bless you.

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